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Pact-NATO Mandate Session Held in Vienna

LD1411092088 Moscow TASS in English 0900 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Text] Vienna November 14 TASS—Another meeting of a series of consultations between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO member states on drafting a mandate for future talks on armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals was held here today.

'Evil' Plans for Weapons Compensation Viewed

LD1211163488 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Viktor Glazunov commentary]

[Text] Events are taking a strange turn indeed. The all-European meeting in Vienna has nearly finished to work out the mandate of the talks on the reduction of the arms, forces, and conventional weapons on the territory from the Atlantic to the Ural mountains. And against this background NATO high-ranking officials are competing with each other in their calls for building up NATO's military might. NATO must be strong—that was the leading theme of the news conference held in Rome by Manfred Woerner, NATO's secretary-general. The chief commander, John Galvin, was more specific when he spoke in Bonn. The spending on arms should be increased; conventional weapons should be reinforced and nuclear modernized. Aware of the opposition of certain countries to modernization, the general put it bluntly that the United States intends to intensify its pressure on the allies with the aim of speeding up the adoption of a decision on the replacement of existing tactical missiles by new ones, ranging up to 500 km.

I would like to remind our listeners at this point that in accordance with Soviet-American treaty, Soviet and American missiles with the range of 500-5,000 km are to be eliminated in Europe. The talk about modernization is nothing else but an attempt to bypass this treaty. In the NATO language this is an attempt to fill the gap created by the treaty. The Bonn [as heard] newspaper FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, which is close to the government circles, notes that new missiles will be able to cover at least part of the targets that medium-range missiles were to cover earlier. What we deal with is an obvious discrepancy with the Treaty on the Elimination of Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

But the evil nature of the modernization and compensation plans does not stop at that. Obstacles are being put in the way of reducing armaments in Europe. The attempt to modernize tactical missiles is being justified by the Soviet Union's superiority in this category of weapons. But here too the Soviet Union stands for a zero option. But NATO officials refuse to hear that. Such weapons, they claim, are needed to offset the Warsaw Treaty countries' superiority in conventional weapons. But these countries propose that disbalances in conventional weapons wherever they exist be done away with, and then armed forces and conventional weapons be radically reduced to the level that rules out offensive operations. This would relieve the sides of any apprehensions they currently have. And this is the aim of the talks whose mandate the participants in the Vienna meeting are now finalizing. The modernization plan, the introduction of new systems of conventional weapons of the type known as clever weapons, are the stumbling block in the way to this aim.

How should all these contradictions be explained to the European public, pressing for further disarmament steps? How should this public be forced to put up with unpopular military programs? Nothing new has been invented in this respect at NATO headquarters. The myth about the Soviet threat has been circulated once again. General Galvin had to admit though that, in the light of the current policy of restructuring in the Soviet Union that covers the foreign field as well, people believe less and less in the Soviet threat. Yet the general himself uses this scare. This is because NATO strategists have no other justification of their militarist activities, except for mythical.

U.S. INF Inspectors Interviewed

PM1111110188 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 7 Nov 88 p 3

[Special correspondent A. Valentinov report: "Two Flags Under One Sky"]

[Text] Votkinsk, Udmurt ASSR—Two flags, the red flag and the stars and stripes, flutter in the wind above a small, single-story prefabricated building by the exit gates of the Votkinsk Machine-Building Plant. Inside, the small building is divided into two zones—Soviet and American. There is also neutral territory—the conference hall. That is where we had our meeting with Colonel Douglas Englund and Major Charles Haver. They head a group of U.S. inspectors monitoring our side's fulfillment of the agreement to terminate production of "SS-20" missiles at this plant.

There are four barriers at the plant gates. The arms of these barriers block the railroad and the highways which converge here. Not a single railroad car, not a single motor vehicle leaving the premises can bypass this checkpoint. Here they throw open the doors, fold back the sides—and check....

They go over everything with a fine-tooth comb. You cannot disguise a missile from a first-class specialist—and the specialists who have come here are first-class. What is more, a special building is being constructed in which the Americans will house their equipment for x-raying the containers—it will automatically determine the shape, size, and weight of goods coming out of the plant.

The Americans are becoming really established in the Udmurt ASSR. At present they are living in a hotel and having their meals in a city cafe, but three comfortable cottages which can accommodate 10 people each are almost ready, as well as a social and administrative building with a dining hall, sports hall, a sauna—everything they need for work and leisure.

"Our arrival here is an important step forward in relations between our countries," Colonel D. Englund said. "And that is not only my opinion. I hope there will also be other steps that will break down the wall of misunderstanding. We can put up with some discomfort for a while for the sake of this."

"You mean, there is still some discomfort to put up with?"

"Oh no, I am not talking about the living conditions," Englund smiled. "Everything is okay there. But the work..." he faltered, trying to think of the right word, "is routine... You know what I mean?"

You can understand the American. The verification process continues around the clock and there are no weekends or holidays. And not only here, in front of the gates. Whether it is raining or snowing, they have to go right around the plant's perimeter to check that the Russians, heaven forbid, are not smuggling out an "illegal" missile over the fence.

"Do you really believe we could be so cunning?"

The Americans laughed.

"No, of course not," Haver said. "It is simply that we have a very responsible job to do and it must be done to a tee, so to speak. So no one can say that we left you a loophole and thereby cast a shadow of suspicion on the observance of the treaty. What is more, our presence here—and that of your specialists in the state of Utah—is very costly, so we have to work to justify the cost."

"So what do you think—are we observing the terms of the treaty in full?"

"That is an easy question," Englund replied. "Here, in Votkinsk, the Soviet side is scrupulously observing all the terms of the treaty. We do not have even the slightest suspicion on that score."

"Mr Englund, you have worked in our country as a military attache and know Moscow well. Are you finding it interesting here, in the heart of Russia?

"First of all, we are a source of interest to the local inhabitants ourselves. The children here are not used to seeing foreigners—at first they followed us around in hordes. But on the whole we are treated very well. And we are not particularly limited in what we do. There are certain limits, but nothing significant."

These limits are clearly defined. The city center is open to the Americans—they can go there at any time without being accompanied. But they are accompanied in outlying districts. The procedure is much tougher for our controllers in the state of Utah: They have to be accompanied everywhere.

"We had already heard of Russian hospitality," Haver added. "And now we have been able to experience it for ourselves. We have an excellent relationship with our Soviet colleagues and with the local residents. We are invited to clubs, schools, concerts. I have been impressed by the drama circle. Your children have every opportunity for self-expression and the development of their talents. And, most pleasant of all, we can sense genuine, well-meaning interest in the United States. I had not expected to find that the Russians know more about America than we do about Russia. But the greatest surprise for me has been the scale of glasnost in the Soviet Union. Even here, in this out-of-the-way place, people openly and boldly discuss all the most serious problems. And something else that has struck me—how much you all read. We read far less. With television and the video recorder, we spend hours sitting in front of the screen. But we have begun to read here. We are finding great pleasure in getting to know modern Soviet writers and are learning a great deal about your people that is new to us. We like your people more and more."

"What is the attitude in the United States toward the processes taking place in our country?"

"Oh, Mr Gorbachev is very popular in the United States," Colonel Englund replied. "When he visited our country he even eclipsed President Reagan in the popularity stakes and turned public opinion in your favor. I was living in Moscow only a year ago, and enormous changes have been made since then. What is particularly striking is the press: It has become aggressive like ours.... This is just as much a guarantee of democracy as the new methods of economic management are a guarantee of a healthier economy. We wish you success in your restructuring."

Gerasimov Briefs Press on Foreign Policy Issues

Notes Bush Remarks on Summit

LD1011143488 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 10 TASS—Reports from Washington have it that U.S. President-elect George Bush has again declared for the holding of a new Soviet-U.S. summit meeting the preparation for which would be based on progress in bilateral relations, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said at a briefing here today.

This positive statement by Mr. Bush is viewed in Moscow as evidence of a serious and responsible approach to Soviet-American relations, Gerasimov said, and as an explicit striving for a continuation of the substantive political dialogue at summit level, the dialogue as a result of which real progress in key matters of security, in the cause of scaling down regional conflicts, in the discussion of humanitarian issues, and the development of bilateral Soviet-American relations became possible in recent years.

Speaking of the recently concluded meeting of the leaders of three Kampuchean sides in Paris to discuss matters pertaining to a political settlement of the Kampuchea issue, Gerasimov pointed out that the meeting is regarded in the Soviet Union as a continuation of the inter-Khmer dialogue and as an important step in implementation of a national reconciliation policy.

The use of new types of weapons by the Afghan Army, the spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry said, is decribed by mass media of the West as a violation of the Geneva agreements by the Soviet Union and Afghanistan.

He emphasized in this connection that the use of powerful weapons against the attacking rebel forces was a justified and legitimate measure of the Afghan Government's self-defence.

Gerasimov also recalled that Pakistani authorities did not take any measures to secure curtailment of subversive acts by the Afghan opposition which operates from Pakistani territory. With U.S. backing Islamabad is carrying on the policy of active support for military detachments of the Afghan opposition and of the rendering of all-round military and financial aid to it.

In answer to the question as to whether there existed some special conditions for withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan, the spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry pointed out that, apart from demands for an efficient implementation of the Geneva agreements by all the parties, the Soviet Union did not put forward any additional conditions.

Calls for Conference on Mideast

LD1011145688 Moscow TASS in English 1410 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 10 TASS—The extraordinary session of the Palestine National Council opening in Algeria on Saturday is being held at a crucial stage in the settlement of the Middle East conflict, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Directorate, said at a briefing here today.

Now, it is absolutely essential to consolidate what has already been achieved in the settlement process and to take practical steps to advance this settlement by convening an international Middle East peace conference, Gerasimov said.

Gennadiy Gerasimov said that the Soviet Union favourably regarded the PLO leaders' stated intention to make considered and realistic decisions at the council's session, which would create favourable conditions for reaching a comprehensive Middle East settlement taking into account the interests of all the sides involved in the conflict.

Gennadiy Gerasimov stressed the need to secure a durable peace in the Middle East and said that the opposing parties should act to find a real solution to the crisis.

Comments on Quadripartite Talks

LD1111175588 Moscow TASS in English 1441 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—The Soviet Union backs the negotiations process to resolve the South-West Africa issue and is prepared to do everything depending on it to help the sides involved in this conflict to find a peaceful solution, promoting their independence, freedom and security. This was stated at a briefing here today by gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate.

Having informed the briefing of the regular round of U.S.-mediated negotiations between Angola, Cuba and the Republic of South Africa, scheduled to begin in Geneva today, in which the USSR is taking part as an unofficial observer, he said: "In spite of the existing differences among sides, there is a real possibility of reaching agreement".

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman noted that the Soviet Union attached great importance to cooperation with the United States in sounding possibilities to help the South-West Africa settlement process. The current negotiations were preceded by regular Soviet-American consultations at the level of deputy foreign ministers.

Gennadiy Gerasimov noted that the first Soviet-American seminar on humanitarian cooperation and human rights would be held in Moscow on November 15-18. A

big U.S. delegation is expected to attend the seminar. It will include 14 members of the American Congress, an assistant secretary of state, assistant secretaries of defense and commerce.

The Soviet spokesman also said that Vladimir Petrovskiy, the Soviet deputy minister for foreign affairs, was leaving for Delhi today to attend a conference on a nuclear-free and non-violent world.

Rejects Pakistani Accusations

LD1111145688 Moscow TASS in English 1445 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—The Soviet Union sees the program for international aid to Afghanistan as an important international project designed to acquaint governments and the general public with the needs of that country, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said here today.

Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, added at a briefing that the USSR has made available 400 million roubles as part of this emergency aid.

He noted that the United States and some other Western countries are linking their participation in U.N.-sponsored programs of aid to Afghanistan to political changes in the country.

Continuing supplies of offensive weapons to the Afghan armed opposition in Pakistan and statements by U.S. Administration officials about their unwillingness to give any assistance to the present Afghan Government, including help under international programs, clearly contradict the spirit and the letter of the Geneva agreements of which the U.S. is a guarantor, Gerasimov said.

He criticized recent statements by Pakistani Foreign Minister Yaqub Khan who groundlessly accused the Soviet Union of violating the Geneva agreements and effectively urged the removal of the lawful Afghan Government.

"It is time Pakistan and the Peshawar opposition it aids, along with international reactionaries, accepted one reality concerning its neighboring state: There cannot be an internal Afghan political settlement without the present Afghan Government sharing in it in this or that form," the spokesman stressed.

He said Oleg Baklanov, a secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, arrived in Kabul on a working visit today. Baklanov, Gerasimov explained, will discuss Soviet-Afghan military-economic cooperation with President Najibullah and other Afghan leaders.

On Human Rights in Northern Ireland

LD1111152588 Moscow TASS in English 1504 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—The Soviet public expresses concern over the continued massive violations of human rights in Northern Ireland by British authorities, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said at a briefing here today.

"Soviet people ask when will the machine of police arbitrariness with regard to dissentients [as received] in Northern Ireland be stopped at last and when will justice as regards hundreds of political prisoners, who were unlawfully thrown into Ulster jails, be restored?"

The Soviet Union, Gennadiy Gerasimov pointed out, repeatedly returned to the subject both at official level and in mass media, persistently calling on the British authorities to take urgent measures in accordance with the Final Act of the Helsinki conference with a view to releasing political prisoners and restoring legality and constitutional law and order in Ulster.

"Our calls of this kind are by no means an interference in the internal affairs of the United Kingdom", the spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry said. "They are prompted by a desire to draw the attention of the British authorities to the acute problem in the hope that their policy in Ulster will correspond to the high-sounding statements being voiced in London in favour of guaranteed ensurance of the basic human rights and freedoms in other countries. Unfortunately, the practical actions of the British side do not indicate a change of the situation in Northern Ireland for the better".

Then Gennadiy Gerasimov spoke of the outcome of London's direct rule in Ulster ever since British troops had been brought there almost 20 years ago. Over the period three thousand people were killed, 30,000 were wounded or crippled there. About seven thousand people were detained over the currency of the anti-terrorism act adopted in 1974. There are now more than 400 political prisoners in Northern Ireland.

The spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry pointed out in this connection that the Soviet public had serious doubts about the fairness of the sentences passed in Ulster and about methods by means of which the investigation was conducted. The conditions in which the prisoners are kept give rise to concern, too.

Gennadiy Gerasimov emphasized that what was said was not a lecture addressed to Britain. "We live in a 'common European home' which is taking shape and in which everything is interconnected. If the community of European countries is aiming in earnest to give a 'human dimension' to the CSCE process, the efforts to establish law and order in our common home should originate in national apartments", he said.

Reacts to Fitzwater on Summit

LD1111221488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] In connection with the election of George Bush as U.S. President, journalists in Moscow and Washington are asking questions about a new Soviet-U.S. summit. A briefing on current issues in world politics took place today at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center. Gerasimov, the head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, noted that these questions reflect the mood of the public, which favors a continuation of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue. Comrade Gerasimov went on to say:

[Begin Gerasimov recording] So far, of those directly involved only one has spoken: George Bush. At his first news conference he confirmed his intention, which he had previously mentioned, to instruct the new U.S. secretary of state to meet Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze to prepare for a new Soviet-U.S. summit.

We also noticed the comments made by our White House colleague Marlin Fitzwater. Asked about a Soviet-U.S. summit, he said: Decisions on such matters as arms control or Soviet-U.S. relations are not made weekly or monthly. Then he added: unless, of course, there are in the USSR domestic considerations that dictate the need for urgent action.

I do not know anything about such considerations. For my part, I want to say that I, too, do not know of any domestic considerations that might dictate the need for urgent action. Needless to say, we have many domestic considerations. Our country's leadership is busy with them. But even so, these domestic affairs, or domestic considerations, do not prevent us from actively pursuing foreign policy issues as well. There are many examples of this: For instance, in recent weeks, many eminent visitors have visited Moscow; Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to India will be taking place soon. In our country, domestic activities combine with foreign policy activities to form one single affair, called the policy of restructuring. [end recording]

Adamishin, Crocker Discuss African Issues

LD1011223488 Moscow TASS in English 2058 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Geneva November 10 TASS—Regular Soviet-American consultations have been held here on the eve of a quadripartite meeting scheduled for tomorrow between Angola, Cuba and South Africa with the mediation of the U.S. on problems of the settlement of the situation in South-West Africa. Anatoliy Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister, and Chester Crocker, U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, discussed steps that could be taken by the Soviet Union and the U.S. for promoting the early completion of the talks, the beginning of the putting into practice of Resolution 435 of the U.N. Security Council and the quest for compromises that would suit all the parties concerned. The reaching of just agreements and the ensurance of a reliable control over their fulfilment, in which all the parties concerned are interested in equal measure, will pave the way to the consolidation of peace and stability in the region.

The sides discussed as well some aspects of the situation in the African Horn.

The exchange of views was held in a frank and constructive atmosphere which is becoming typical of Soviet-American consultations on regional problems.

Adamishin on Talks With Crocker

LD1111084288 Moscow TASS in English 0831 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Geneva November 11 TASS—The U.S.-mediated quadripartite talks on a peaceful settlement of the situation in South-West Africa with the participation of Angola, Cuba, and the Republic of South Africa resume here today.

On the eve of this round of the talks Anatoliy Adamishin, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, and Chester Crocker, U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, held regular Soviet-American consultations here. Steps which the Soviet Union and the United States can make to promote the completion of the talks at an earliest date and the start of implementation of the U.N. Security Council's Resolution 435 were the subject of the discussion.

The achievement of fair accords and the ensurance of a reliable verification of their implementation, which all the sides are equally interested in, would open the way for strengthening peace and stability in the region.

"Together with Mr. Crocker we stated that, notwithstanding the difficulties, a reasonable and fair settlement of the situation in South-West Africa is possible", Adamishin said at a news conference here on Thursday. "It can be achieved through intensifying the negotiating process and through searching for mutually acceptable solutions and compromises. The Soviet Union has always come out for a political settlement of the problems of the region on the basis of taking into account the interests of all the parties involved in the conflict".

Adamishin pointed out that Angola and Cuba had taken up a constructive attitude at the quadripartite talks and showed a desire to reach agreement.

Touching upon the question of a timetable for Cuban troops' withdrawal from Angola, he emphasized that agreement to this effect might be achieved within a short period, since the stands of the sides have already drawn closer together.

"The Cuban participants in the talks hold, for example, that the question may be decided upon already at this round of the talks in Geneva provided there is enough goodwill on the part of the Republic of South Africa. In general", Adamishin said, "a 'linkage' of the Cuban troops' withdrawal issue with the granting of independence to Namibia and with practical implementation of the 'U.N. plan' is utterly unlawful from the viewpoint of international law".

"The United States" Adamishin pointed out in answer to journalists' questions, "equate the military aid which the Soviet Union renders to the legitimate Government of Angola and the U.S. deliveries of arms to the anti-government UNITA grouping".

"We", he stated, "Firmly oppose such 'symmetry' which places the legitimate government of the U.N. member nation and the insurgents on the same footing".

He emphasized that the Angolan Government pursued a course precisely towards a political solution, not a militay one, to the internal problems, while the U.S. deliveries of arms to Jonas Savimbi put off a solution rather that bring it nearer.

Vienna CSCE Meeting Discusses Future Tasks

PM1111190588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Nov 88 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "To a New Level"]

[Text] A plenary session of the Vienna CSCE meeting has discussed a set of measures proposed for the next few years within the Helsinki process.

The head of the Soviet delegation Yuriy Kashlev noted that the agreements reached in Vienna had raised the CSCE process to a qualitatively higher level. The program of measures to be taken in the military-political, commercial- economic, ecological, and humanitarian spheres, discussed in Vienna, may contribute substantially to the implementation of the "common European home" idea.

In the military sphere, the meeting is considering the possibility of new talks between the Warsaw Pact and NATO on armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, simultaneously with the continuation of negotiations by CSCE nations on confidence- and security-building measures.

In the political domain it is proposed to hold a special meeting of experts to improve the mechanism for the peaceful settlement of conflicts. There were also proposals to hold a European economic conference, a scientific forum, a conference on problems of environment protection, an informational forum, and a meeting on safeguarding Europe's cultural legacy.

A successful conclusion of the Vienna meeting could mark a new stage in the development of the CSCE process. This involves, in particular, the creation of requisites for an agreement on setting up a mechanism for CSCE nations' cooperation in the humanitarian sphere, particularly in the domain of human rights.

[Moscow TASS in English at 1518 GMT on 11 November carries a similar report on the Vienna meeting, adding the following two paragraphs: "The Soviet representative adduced convincing arguments in favour of holding a conference on humanitarian problems in Moscow. He noted that such a forum, if held in the Soviet capital, would correspond to CSCE practices and standards.

"However, the U.S. stand obstructs a consensus on the enumerated measures. The United States is endeavoring to 'slow down' the CSCE process, is coming out against the forums on economics, science, ecology and cultural legacy. Washington's position is still unclear on the question of the Moscow humanitarian cooperation conference."]

The Soviet delegation leader expressed the conviction that given common political will it would be possible to remove the last obstacles to a successful completion of the Vienna meeting, to the adoption of a broad program of European cooperation in the interests of all the nations of the continent.

Kashlev on CSCE Meeting, Future Plans

LD1211234988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Text] In the Austrian capital, talks are continuing between the countries party to the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Under discussion are various proposals on holding conferences, forums, and talks of importance over the next 2 or 3 years on various areas of cooperation for the stabilization of the international situation. Ambassador Yuriy Borisovich Kashlev, head of the Soviet delegation to the Vienna meeting, will talk about the proposals in more detail.

[Begin Kashlev recording] At the all-European meeting here in Vienna the issue of what are called subsequent ventures, that is, what conferences, meetings, and talks will take place in the 2 of 3 years immediately following the end of the Vienna meeting, has now come to the fore. There are many proposals on the negotiating table, and I will give the following example: If, in the 13 years since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act there have been about a dozen such ventures in Europe, we are now discussing a program of 12 major talks, meetings, conferences, forums, and the like. What precisely are we talking about? After the Vienna meeting, two sets of talks are to start in the military and political sphere. These are talks between the 23 countries in the Warsaw Treaty and NATO on reducing conventional weapons and armed

forces. These are to be held between the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries. There are talks on confidence-building measures in the military sphere which are to be held by all 35 signatories of the Helsinki Final Act. Along with this are proposals to hold an all-European meeting to settle contentious issues peaceably, which corresponds to our new thinking in political affairs. In general, the program examined here ties in with the idea put forward by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on building an all-European home. Holding these important ventures is, basically, the foundation block for step-by-step construction of such a home.

In the trade, economic, and scientific spheres, it is proposed to hold a scientific forum and a conference on economic cooperation in Europe. This is being claimed by West Germany, Italy, and Czechoslovakia—to hold these forums, that is. In the humanitarian sphere, an extensive program has been outlined. It is proposed to hold an all-European news forum in London, a meeting on the preservation of Europe's cultural heritage in Krakow, and the so-called conference on the human dimension of the Helsinki process, which would be made up of three all-European meetings, in Paris in 1989, in Copenhagen in 1990 and in Moscow in 1991. This is without precedent in Europe and is evoking a great deal of interest. The problem, however, is that a single country, the United States of America, is opposed to one-half of the measures cited. It is against the economic meeting, the scientific forum, the meeting on cultural heritage, and so on. Neither has it taken a stance thus far on our conference in Moscow on human rights and humanitarian cooperation. It prevaricates and manuevers, afraid of something, and puts forward various preconditions. But we do hope that common sense and the opinion of the realistic and constructive majority will win the day, and it will be possible to institute the program and begin putting it into effect. [end recording]

'Roundtable' on U.S. Election, Asia Policies

LD1311213288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 13 Nov 88

["International Observers Roundtable" program with IZVESTIYA political observer Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich Bovin, political observer Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin, and All-Union Radio commentator Viktor Nikolayevich Levin]

[Text] [Levin] Good afternoon, esteemed comrades. This week particular attention has been attracted to the outcome of the U.S. presidential election, an event which naturally arouses interest not only in the United States itself, but throughout the world. After all, the question was at stake: Who is to head the administration of the most important capitalist country? This is undoubtedly why there was universal interest in the election. You already know the outcome: George Bush was elected president, while in the Senate and the House of Representatives, the Democrats not only obtained a majority, but even reinforced the one they had before...

[Bovin, interrupting] Which, in my view, is a very good thing, because the Congress will restrain certain abrupt movements by the President, and this will be beneficial.

[Levin] Yes, without a doubt.

[Bovin] Though for Bush, of course, this is a little, let's say, irritating.

[Levin] Yes, and many other people are drawing attention to this as well, because it reflects a very interesting trend in U.S. politics. That is, there should be a dialogue between the White House and Congress, a dialogue in which some kind of middle line is worked out. Anyway, to sum up the outcome of the election for the moment, it obviously has to be mentioned above all that Bush's success comes from the policies pursued by the previous administration. I think that the French newspaper LE MONDE was correct in entitling its commentary on George Bush' election as U.S. President as follows: "Ronald Reagan's Last Victory." Indeed, to all appearances, the policies pursued by Ronald Reagan are meeting with active support in the United States, as the presidential election indicates.

[Bovin] Externally this policy is associated, above all, with the normalization of Soviet-U.S. relations—a tremendous trump card played by Reagan for Bush, so to speak. At home there has been an uninterrupted upswing lasting for more than 70 months, which by American standards is unheard of, and this is what is seen by everyone when they go to the shops. This, of course, is the main thing Bush had behind him. Plus, of course, the fact that Dukakis is a relatively litle-known figure for the United States, which evidently also had an effect. But the main thing, nevertheless, is this Reagan legacy.

[Levin] Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich, I would like to back up what you have just said with a few figures. At present the unemployment rate in the United States is 5.8 percent...

[Bovin, interrupting] Well, that's the norm for the Americans; it's the norm and there's no problem.

[Levin] That's perfectly true, but 8 years ago it was 11 percent. The inflation rate is 4.5 percent, whereas it was 16 percent. And here's a very interesting thing—something, incidentally, that's noteworthy in many respects. The 7 November edition of TIME, which went on sale somewhat earlier—3 days earlier—contains a letter from a reader, an unusual reader, it's true, since it was George Bush. The letter discusses the results achieved by the Reagan administration in improving the American peoples' well-being and cites the following figures. If, during the Carter administration, the number of families with an income of less than 20,000 [currency not specified] a year increased from 30.1 percent to 33.7 percent, at present, over Reagan's 8 years in power, the number of such people—with, I repeat, an income of less than 20,000—has fallen to 30.3 percent.

[Bovin] Yes, but these statistics, by the way, are quite variable; for instance, you may come across other figures proving that the number of people below the poverty line has increased during the Reagan administration. Depending where you place the cut-off point, you get different figures. Consequently, everyone can prove whatever they like; they prove that people are now worse or better off. Yet overall when Americans are asked the famous question posed once by Reagan—have you become better off over this period?—the majority answer yes, better. This is a qualitative rather than quantitative assessment of the situation.

[Shishlin] Yes, and it's probably worth adding that the defects in the present U.S. economic situation....

[Levin, interrupting] They do not lie on the surface.

[Bovin] Yes, yes.

[Shishlin] ...Are of the deep-seated nature. They may manifest themselves, but not in the short term.

[Bovin] There's the enormous debt. The U.S. nine-figure debts are like weights hanging on the U.S. economy, but it is so powerful that it can continue to advance, so to speak...

[Shishlin, interrupting] Yes, we are right to talk about the state budget deficit, we are right to talk about the United States' enormous foreign debt, and we are right to say that the United States has lost its position as the biggest exporter in the world markets. But to this one must add that the United States remains the prime investor. U.S. capital remains highly active in the world markets and, of course, as far as new technologies are concerned, the United States by no means wants to give up its lead to Japan or West Europe....

[Bovin, interrupting] [Words indistinct] in this direction. Overall, yes, of course, it's the United States.

[Shishlin] But I think that in themselves the tasks faced by the new U.S. Administration will turn out to be pretty tough. One way or another, this U.S. prosperity, the relatively smooth economic development, and the buildup of latent difficulties will, of course, require some extraordinary solutions.

[Levin] Incidentally, here's a rather interesting detail: The ABC television network noted that throughout the victory celebrations Bush looked melancholy. As one of his aides said, he has now perhaps realized the truth behind the old saying: Be careful in defining what you want to achieve in life; that wish might come true.

[Shishlin] I suspect that we are, nonetheless, more interested now in what is going to happen to the Soviet-U.S. dialogue and how Soviet-U.S. relations are going to develop. In this connection, I find fairly encouraging, when compared with his pre-election speeches, Bush's statement after being elected—though before he takes office—about his readiness to organize a summit with the Soviet Union, the Soviet leader, as fast as possible, and to continue the dialogue that developed in Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington, and Moscow.

[Levin] A great deal is being written at the moment in the United States about the nomination of the new secretary of state, or strictly speaking, about the nomination of the secretary of state in the administration which Bush will be heading. The choice has fallen on James Baker. He has already been White House chief of staff and secretary of the Treasury under Reagan. He then headed Bush's election campaign, and one could say that he ran it very successfully. And now, very quickly, Bush has stated that Baker is to be secretary of state. UPI describes him as an educated and friendly man who willingly holds meetings with journalists. As far as I understand it, there is a firm conviction in the United States that Baker is a man of moderate views who acts as a sort of connecting link between the more conservative wing of the Republican Party and the center. The U.S. press has also put forward the view that this choice will please Congress, which remains in Democratic hands and in which Baker is popular, but not the right-wing Republicans, among whom he does not enjoy popularity.

[Bovin] That is evidently the way things will indeed be, but you know the picture here is not quite so straightforward either. On the one hand, yes, Bush will of course continue Reagan's policy of improving Soviet-U.S. relations and evidently the treaty will, after all, be conducted next year. However, they are now actively discussing, for instance, a change of strategy in the United States; the concept of a concurrent strategy has arisen. What it means is simply that yes, in the nuclear sphere—I mean, this whole situation—we are disarming. We are going to reduce nuclear weapons because this is a dead end situation, a disaster with no possibility of progress, and there has to be disarmament.

But in parallel with this, exploiting our technological superiority—the fact that we are far ahead of the Soviet Union, say the Americans—we are going to work hard on sophisticated conventional weapons, in which we will race way ahead of the Soviet Union and about which it will be easier for us to discuss with them. So you see, it turns out that in the one area there is a reduction in the level of the arms race by mutual understanding, while in the other they are attempting, at least in theory so far, to start a new area of the arms race in the sphere of conventional weapons, which, incidentally, are now beginning to catch up on nuclear weapons in a whole range of characteristics. At the moment this is a fairly minor point, like a small cloud visible on the horizon, but I think that we journalists and the politicians have to keep sight of it....

[Shishlin, interrupting] Aleksandr Yevgenyevich, what you have said has prompted me to express the following thought: Over the past few months we have, indeed,

spoken a lot about the good things, about what is changing for the better in Soviet-U.S. relations; there really are certain assets in Soviet-U.S. relations, and a certain amount of capital has been accrued. We have already spoken in detail about the good things. But as for the bad things, we really do have to remember them.

This applies to the policy of modernizing conventional weapons, thereby in effect maintaining the arms race, albeit in a different dimension. Or take our economic affairs: Economic contacts between the Soviet Union and the United States are, after all, abominable.

[Bovin] They are maintaining severe restrictions, despite the fact...

[Shishlin, interrupting] Yes, yes.

[Bovin] Severe restrictions.

[Levin] Moreover, they are pressuring West Europe to prevent it from developing its trade and economic relations.

[Bovin] This is very interesting [words indistinct] in Soviet-U.S. relations, but our listeners understand, of course, that our foreign policy does not consist of those relations alone. Indeed this fall in Moscow has been more of a European one than a U.S. one, or that's what I would call it.

[Levin] And it is still far from over.

[Bovin] No, it's not over yet, because Mitterrand will be coming.

Incidentally, this increased activity on our part in the European area, in particular I should say in the economic sector of this area, is being greeted with great suspicion in the United States. This is because this development of the economic infrastructure between us and Europe, which seems quite natural to the Europeans, to the Americans seems like playing, so to speak, at give-away with the Soviet Union. In this connection the first paragraph of an article in the U.S. magazine U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT is very interesting. The article appears in the edition for 14 November, which is how it is marked. Here is how the article begins. It says: Washington is like a hen that shows more and more nervousness when she sees her brood, that is, her chicks, flirting with a fox. Washington is presently concerned that West Europe's striving after profits will gain the upper hand over its caution in trading with the Eastern bloc.

Mikhail Gorbachev is deriving a double benefit from this U.S. concern, the magazine writes. He is not only obtaining goods and technology so necessary for the East - well, really, it is will be obtaining; this is what we are hoping—but it is also driving another wedge between the United States and its allies by pursuing such a familiar strategy on armaments negotiations. Here we have a typical U.S. approach. They are forever suspecting us of dreaming how we might split up the sides and separate West Europe and the United States. We are aware that this is impossible, and we do not set such tasks that are not possible in principle. But that is how our European activities look to them.

[Levin] I think that they are now expressing another thought in this regard. You know, the Americans are very gravely concerned at the plans to create a single European market, which is due to be created within the framework of the Common Market by 1992. They are now putting pressure on Western Europe for the latter—in general—not to act very independently. That is my feeling. All the talk about attempts by the Soviet Union to drive in a wedge is intended to intimidate Western Europe and strengthen its ties with the United States....

[Bovin, interrupting] In my opinion [words indistinct] they are trying to frighten the Europeans with the fact that the latter's policy is leading to a strengthening of the Soviet Union, which will be bad for Western Europe. But in actual fact they are, I think, still worried that the contacts with us will also indeed strengthen the position of Western Europe in world politics.

[Levin] That is, of course, so.

[Bovin] This also does not suit the Americans very much. The situation is, after all, a complex one.

[Shishlin] Let me continue with the theme of what is bad in Soviet-U.S. relations. I think that this theme is, nevertheless, justified against the background of a general improvement of Soviet-U.S. relations. I think we should also speak of the fact that measures of trust in Soviet-U.S. relations and measures of mutual understanding are not yet on a high level. What you have just been saying, and I listened attentively to your judgments, is only further evidence of this. After all, it is at present not only a European autumn. It is also an Asian autumn and an Asian winter—in the good sense of the word—that is setting in. There will be Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to India, and there is to be a visit to the Soviet Union by the Chinese foreign minister, the first for many years.

[Bovin] We are also speaking with increasing certainty about a Soviet-Chinese summit in the first half of next year.

[Shishlin] This will be a topic for the discussions between our foreign minister and the Chinese foreign minister.

The Japanese are feeling uncomfortable and as though they are lagging, as it were, behind the general flow of a smoothing out in international relations. They are, therefore, pinning great hopes on managing somehow to eliminate and overcome this lag in the course of the coming visit to Tokyo by the Soviet foreign minister. So

the Americans do, of course, have reasons for false alarms. But after all, the Soviet Union has in the first place never conceived of its foreign policy as being oriented toward only one area, the Soviet-U.S. area. Great importance is attached to this area. It is indeed one of the main areas of our foreign policy.

[Bovin] The problems of war and peace are of couse the main thing in this regard.

[Shishlin] Yes, but to an equal extent we are interested in strengthening our relations with our socialist friends and the socialist countries as such. To no less extent we are interested in a productive dialogue with the West Europeans, and incidentally Aleskandr Yevgenevich has already mentioned in this respect obtaining goods and credit from the Western countries. At this time this tendency has become fairly clearly discernible, and in general the West Europeans are fairly generously agreeing to grant credits.

[Bovin] It already amounts, I think, to around 6,7, or 9 billion [currency not specified].

[Shishlin] No, it is already a little more, when you take into account the Canadian credit.

[Bovin] I was only taking Western Europe, which is around 7 to 9 billion.

[Shishlin] I think that these credits are already somewhere beyond 10 billion. The logic here is interesting. The Western Europeans are attempting to set their sights on the Soviet market, and are setting their sights on such a promising area of economic relations as mutual links with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The United States is frightening West Europe by saying: Yes, you are indeed supplying equipment for plants that will produce consumer goods and will be helping to enhance the level of the Soviet agro-industrial sector. However, they say, this will make it possible for the Soviet Union to save resources and transfer them to a buildup of its military power. I do not doubt that we have all noticed that over the past weeks a campaign has been waged fairly steadfastly and somehow purposefully in the U.S. press with a view to casting a shadow of doubt over the whole concept of the new political thinking, in particular the principle of reasonable sufficiency. It is being said: Well, the Soviet Union has proclaimed a defensive doctrine, but what is behind it? The Soviet military factories are operating. Soviet military equipment is being improved. What remains for us to do?

[Bovin] Incidentally, Nikolay Vladimirovich, I would say here that within the framework of new political thinking, we are nevertheless trying to understand the United States. Nor is everything in order on our part in this regard. After all, there is that vast screen of secrecy that surrounds all our military matters. It is indeed in general perceived as something not particularly normal from the outside. They say: Damn it, what are those Russians doing behind that screen? After all they say nothing, either about how many tanks have been produced, or the number of aircraft or missiles. They just keep silent. The world is talking about this. We should therefore think in general, within the framework—so to speak—of the general tendency of our development and restructuring, also about achieving a level of world standards, and then people will simply be less afraid of us.

[Shishlin] It is obvious that this is quite simply in our political interests.

[Bovin] Yes, of course.

[Shishlin] Incidentally, this is also in our political interests, from the viewpoint of internal development in the Soviet Union. It is also in our interests with regard to increasing the foreign policy prestige of the Soviet Union as a country which pursues an open and honest policy.

[Levin] Without this it is simply difficult to speak of trust.

[Bovin] Incidentally, with regard to what we touched upon, namely, Asia—(?for some reason I moved on to) a new topic—I would even risk using a term such as a turn Eastwards. Following Mikhail Sergeyevich's Vladivostok speech and his Krasnoyarsk speech, the sum of these ideas indeed signifies a kind of turn Eastward in our general policy. We have begun to pay much more attention to this area, which is indeed understandable, especially considering all the talk about the importance of the Pacific basin as one of the main centers of the world economy and world politics in the 21st century. This turn is understandable. But here, as everywhere in general, foreign policy is linked with domestic policy, and now by stepping up our Eastern policy we have thereby exacerbated for ourselves the problem of our underdevelopment in the East. If we take our Far East—well, I'm not sure I remember, but I think we get about 3 percent of our gross national income there. There is a need to develop and to be equal partners with Japan and the United States—with these giants, and even with such tiny, if you will forgive the term, countries as Singapore and, let us say, Hong Kong, and now South Korea.

In other words, it is necessary to intensively develop our Far East. Siberia is almost our backdoor on Asia. It must be very strong so that we can play an energetic role in the East. It is this turn Eastward on our part that is precisely, perhaps, making us consider this complex of issues more attentively, and this is indeed what is happening now.

[Shishlin] Although, Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich, given that I agree regarding the insufficient development of our Far Eastern region and that Soviet economic potential is in itself, of course, a single entity, the need to develop highly qualified production in the Far East

seems absolutely indisputable, and all the more so when our traditional approach with regard to the Far East has been to treat it as an area of raw materials...

[Bovin, interrupting] Of raw materials, of course, of course, raw materials...

[Shishlin, interrupting] Raw materials, energy sources, other minerals, and so on. And today, of course, there must be a totally different approach to this region than before regarding industrial development as well.

[Bovin] It is precisely here that improvements in Soviet-Chinese relations can be of purely practical assistance. We are now raising the matter of special economic zones in the Far East, but so far for us this is merely in theory. I was at the conference in Vladivostok on Asian problems and the businessmen there took hold of us and said: Let us be specific. What can we do? What can't we do? And so on and so forth. We couldn't tell them anything specific because while the general concept is there, there has been no technical or economic elaboration as yet. Let us look, say, at the Chinese. After all, they have more than 10 of these special economic zones. How are things going there? What is good? What is bad? Perhaps this would also be worth studying at the moment. It would be interesting for us simply in practical terms to copy the experience of our frends. It is both important and interesting, and all the more so as they are slightly ahead of us in economic reform. They may be behind us in political reform, but here they are ahead and this has to be taken into account as well.

[Shishlin] And of course, we have to look at this vast region with open eyes.

[Bovin] Of course.

[Shishlin] Because here we are talking about the importance of our mutual relations with China and Japan, but there are other countries too, and I believe that the ongoing buildup and enrichment of Soviet-Indian relations is very valuable.

[Bovin] Yes, yes.

[Shishlin] Here too there is an enormous amount of work because while over the last couple of years, for instance, our economic relations have taken an upward turn, they had been falling because of the drop in energy prices. The task lies in giving these relations a totally new quality. It should be a matter of joint enterprises, a matter of selling machinery and equipment; that is, a matter of thoroughgoing economic cooperation. Here we must learn to exert ever new efforts in order to pull up the entire level of our foreign economic relations with these countries so that these relations serve as a staunch buttress for the political ideas put forward in the Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk speeches of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and for those ideas expressed by the countries we are addressing. For the idea of cooperation with those countries. The very concept of cooperation with the countries of the Asia-Pacific region should be worked out by those countries jointly and in common, and should be enriched and developed. So I think that the autumn and winter of 1988 and 1989 will allow more definite contours to be given to this concept and, ultimatey, the commencement of a fruitful dialogue on these problems.

[Bovin] Well, at the moment, a visit by Mikhail Sergeyevich to India is in preparation and from the point of view of our relations with India it will, of course, be a major political act. There are real problems, after all, which need to be talked about. Somewhow the situation in the Indian Ocean has to be improved. It is not to our liking or to that of India. The matter of demilitarizing the Indian Ocean has not got off the ground. The overall situation in Asia remains complex. There is Afghanistan still, and things are not calm on India's other borders either, as it were. And within India itself there is a whole series of problems.

[Levin] However, if we're talking about Soviet-Indian relations, it can be said with total justification here that unique, friendly cooperation has already been developed. Take just the following fact: Since 1985, the heads of our states have met regularly, every year. In 1985, Rajiv Gandhi was in Moscow; in 1986 Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev met with him in Delhi. In 1987 Gandhi came to us again, and now Mikhail Sergeyevich is going there. When we talk about foreign policy cooperation, there is no doubt that such an unprecedented document as the Delhi Declaration on the principles of a world free of nuclear weapons and violence cannot be overlooked. This document was signed slightly less than 2 years ago, but it is one that has become a very important milestone in the realization of the new political thinking.

[Shishlin] I would have said in the formation of the new political thinking.

[?Levin] Yes, yes.

[Bovin] Some journalists have described it as a synthesis of the ideas of Lenin and Mahatma Gandhi.

[Levin] That itself is interesting.

[Bovin] It is interesting, of course it is.

[Levin] And this really is the case. If we look at the document—I'll just mention two theses: First, peaceful coexistence should become the universal norm of international relations. The second point: Human life should be acknowledged as the supreme value.

[?Shishlin] Yes.

[Bovin] These are not just words. It is an attempt to fill ll these general points and principles with genuine political substance and to make them into a working mechanism. That, to me, is where the specific features of the present moment lie.

[Shishlin] Incidentally, as an illustration I'd like to cite not only our foreign policy actions. These are already sufficiently well-known to our listeners, as are the many initiatives submitted by the Soviet Union on various acute problems of contemporary international life, but also the program of action submitted by Rajiv Gandhi at the third special session of the United Nations General Assembly. This was, likewise, a step toward transposing the ideas of the Delhi Declaration into practical steps toward radically improving the international atmosphere. Here I think we have a very extensive mutual understanding with India, and one would like this extensive mutual understanding to belong not only to our bilateral relations but, in general, to those countries which are expected to cooperate in the Asia-Pacific region.

Well, we've come away from Soviet-U.S. relations to a completely different set of problems.

[Bovin] Naturally enough, since (?that's the way of) politics; there's something going on in all areas. Moves are being made and as a great power, we are taking part in them, generally.

[Shishlin] Yes, I think if we make an overall assessment of where we are in November 1988, I think that 1988 has not just been a year of active politics but one of politics with results, both as regards our own interests and the interests of the worldwide community. What is most important is the fact that a certain amount of work has been started, and a certain foundation has been laid for increasing the work which has already produced well-known results and which could produce far more promising results in the future.

[Levin] Well, with that hope we can sum up our conversation today. We wish Soviet foreign policy success in all areas. Thank you, esteemed comrades, for your attention. All the best.

Lithuanian Minister Addresses UN Committee

LD1011093588 Moscow TASS in English 0903 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] New York November 10 TASS—A general debate on issues pertaining to the rendering of assistance within the U.N. framework in the effective exercise of human rights and basic freedoms has begun in the third committee (social, humanitarian and cultural) of the U.N. General Assembly.

During the discussion representatives of various countries express views on many matters concerning the establishment of a new international humanitarian order, the exercise of human rights and U.N. activities in this field.

An intensification of U.N. efforts in the humanitarian aspect of world politics, in the opinion of many, accords with the goals of creating a qualitatively new moral and psychological atmosphere in the world and would contribute to enhancing human values and humane moral and ethical principles and norms.

Pierre-Louis Blanc, representative of France, spoke, specifically, of the need to expand the U.N. role in the rendering of humanitarian aid to those suffering as a result of natural calamities, and pointed out the importance of refining the mechanism of the rendering of such aid.

"The Soviet Union's opinion is", stated Vladislovas Mikuciauskas, representatives of the Soviet Union, minister of foreign affairs of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, "that an unprejudiced, impartial, and even self-critical evaluation by any state and society of its own practice, its weak and strong points, and the development of its ability to listen to its partners and to draw on everything best and worthy from their experience and from mankind's achievements serve as a substantial factor in establishing real and productive cooperation in the humanitarian field. This applies first of all to humanitarian cooperation issues connected with the exercise of human rights, with an improvement of the position of the individual and the development of nations. It is high time inter-state discussions on such issues were rid of ideological underlying motives, hypocrisy, an edifying attitude, political speculations, propaganda and confrontational rhetoric. International and bilateral practice shows that confrontational rhetoric and ideological attacks do not yield useful results".

"In the world, there are no model states or ideal human rights situations. The international community should not be divided into teachers and learners in this respect. The international community consists of sovereign and equal members. Their duty is jointly to look for solutions to acute problems, to eradicate violations of human rights, and to create conditions for eliminating the existing drawbacks and ensuring the development of democracy in any regions of the globe".

Woerner Remarks to UK Daily Criticized

PM0811162388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Nov 88 Second Edition p 7

[Yuriy Zhukov "Rejoinder": "Vain Search for a Threat"]

[Text] You can't envy NATO Secretary General M. Woerner, until recently FRG defense minister: In the performance of his duties he is compelled to take pains

to increase the bloc countries' military expenditure, and it is becoming increasingly difficult to justify the need for this expenditure. Especially now that the West Europeans, having seen the results of the visits by heads of state and government to the USSR, including that of FRG Chancellor H. Kohl, have drawn the conclusion that their former fears of aggression from the East were unfounded.

Yet on 2 November M. Woerner, sharing his thoughts with a correspondent from Britain's FINANCIAL TIMES, stated that NATO now needs to elaborate a **"new concept of how we couch and present(!) our defense efforts."** This is easy to say, but how does one tackle this matter?

The NATO secretary general acknowledged in this interview that—and I quote—**"there is no inevitable threat of war"** and that the Soviet Union has **"other concerns."** A valuable and fair admission. But what next? Next Mr Woerner stated that nevertheless the public must be informed of the existence of a military threat. He continued that it should just be described **"in other terms, perhaps not speaking even of athreat but of the use of military power in peacetime(!)."**

That's the riddle! Unable to solve it, the correspondent cautiously asked the NATO secretary general what wording is to be used to justify the arms race for the sake of "the use of military power in peacetime." Here M. Woerner admitted in distress that, although "I thought a long time," "I couldn't find suitable" wording.

So the question arises: Is there now a military threat to Western Europe, albeit depicted "in other terms," or is it really a question of a NATO arms race for using arms "in peacetime"? But what kind of use of them can there be?

FINANCIAL TIMES readers did not receive an answer to this natural question, and the NATO secretary general did not reveal the essence of the future "new concept of how we couch and present(!) our defense efforts."

I think it would be immeasurably more topical now to speed up the elaboration of the long-awaited NATO concept on ways, means, and methods of disarmament that has already been under discussion for a long time and whose absence, so it is reported from Vienna, is slowing down a final solution of the question of the start of talks on the reduction of arms and armed forces in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

USSR Attends Conference on Arctic Cooperation

PM1111133788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Dispatch by unnamed correspondent: "Conference of Arctic Countries"]

[Text] Ottawa—There are 15,000 reindeer in the north of Canada. We have approximately 2 million. If we were to sell part of our herd and send reindeer-breeding specialists to Canada for a while to share their skills, a considerable contribution would thereby be made to resolving the problem of providing employment for Canadian northerners.

Such an unexpected proposal—it struck me as unexpected—was made at the International Conference on Cooperation in the Arctic. The 3-day conference organized by the Canadian Institute for Problems of International Peace and Security, as well as the "Science for Peace" organization, ended in Toronto Friday. Its participants included representatives of nine Arctic or, as they are also called, "ice countries" (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Britain, the United States, Canada, and the USSR).

The conference was marked by several "firsts." For example, the Soviet Union, which used to prefer to tackle such problems on a bilateral basis, participated for the first time in a multilateral conference on the Arctic. A representative of Soviet Eskimos was there for the first time. She was Nadezhda Sudakova, a schoolteacher from the settlement of Provideniye in Chukotka.

What was discussed? Very diverse problems and very diverse ways of resolving those problems. The chief problem is the maintenance of security and peace in the Arctic. I will not say that the conference participants evaluated highly the prospects for the "ice countries'" cooperation in the military sphere.

"The Arctic," Stephen Miller of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology said, "is making ever greater use of sophisticated submarines. Military activity is increasing, not diminishing."

But it would be a mistake to say that pessimism was the dominant mood of the Toronto conference. On the contrary, the delegates saw the resolution of problems of a different kind—ecological, economic, transport, cultural, medical, social—as a way to ease military confrontation in the Arctic.

Many projects for cooperation in civilian spheres, so to speak, were advanced. The "ice countries" can learn a great deal from each other, learning to create a better Arctic. Here are simple examples:

Medical services for the indigenous population of the north are well-organized in Canada, as is public education in the Soviet Union.

The Canadians have developed excellent off-road transport, while we are masters with regard to maritime transport in the Arctic.

The Canadians have a problem with providing employment for northerners, but we can help them by exporting reindeer.

Ideas were expressed with regard to creating joint enterprises, particularly in the coal-mining industry.

There was no end to the very interesting proposals. They will be generalized and studied. It is important to realize the proposals that are considered the most valuable. As the open letter which the conference participants addressed to the Arctic countries' heads of government stated, "the time has come for real, active cooperation."

This letter also bears a very remarkable note: "Copies to defense ministers."

United States & Canada

PRAVDA Publishes Bush Message to Gorbachev

PM1111182788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Nov 88 First Edition p 1

["To His Excellency Mikhail Gorbachev, Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Chairman,

It was very pleasant for me to receive your congratulatory message conveyed yesterday by Ambassador Dubinin when I was returning by plane to Washington. I have now read the actual text and would like to express profound gratitude to you for the warm congratulations.

I recall with pleasure all our previous contacts and look forward to joint work with you on a broad range of issues that are of interest to our two countries. I fully agree that more sound, stable relations between the Soviet Union and the United States will benefit not only our peoples, but the entire world as well.

With warm wishes,

Sincerely, George Bush

IZVESTIYA on Prospects for U.S. Relations

PM1011163988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Stanislav Kondrashov "Political Observer's Opinion": "New Partner in Washington"]

[Text] So, after 8 years of Ronald Reagan's rule U.S. voters have again returned a conservative Republican—George Bush—to the White House. He will be inaugurated 20 January next year, and at roughly the same time the new Congress, in which the Democratic Party retains the majority following the election, will begin work. During the transition the old administration is to all intents and purposes inactive, packing its bags, while the president-elect picks his cabinet and determines policies.

The first appointment has already been announced. The post of secretary of state goes to James Baker, who headed the Bush election campaign. He gave loyal service to President Reagan, which to a certain extent emphasizes the idea of continuity. George Shultz, the current secretary of state, approved the choice. I would recall, incidentally, that the first secretary of state in the Reagan administration was Four-Star General Alexander Haig—a contrast not only of personalities but of the overall situation in which, 8 years ago, the idea of Soviet-U.S. confrontation prevailed.

George Bush is no newcomer to the U.S. scene. His domestic political experience was as a congressman and chairman of the Republican Party National Committee, while his foreign-policy experience was as head of the U.S. diplomatic missions to the United Nations and in Beijing and as CIA director. This experience, acquired under Republican Presidents Nixon and Ford, was enriched in his 8 years as U.S. vice president. As Bush has again proved, there is only one step up from that position—to the highest rung of state power and responsibility. At the same time, by immutable tradition, the U.S. vice president, in leaving the limelight to the President, is always deliberately self-effacing. I say this because, despite his reputation, George Bush will only now show his true colors as a figure in the highest office of one of the two great nuclear powers—and at a most interesting and important time, when truly historic opportunities are opening up for the world to move from the era of "cold war" and a senseless arms race to stability, lasting security, and cooperation.

From the word go, as they say, the president-elect will have to involve himself in the unusually intensive dialogue that has typified Soviet-U.S. relations of recent times. Fundamental differences between the two systems remain and will continue to remain, but the aforesaid dialogue has largely altered the nature of our relations, diminishing the element of hostility in them and intensifying the element of partnership. George Bush is our new partner in Washington. This role has been given to him by history itself. M.S. Gorbachev's greetings telegram expressed the hope that his activity will serve to further develop stable and predictable relations between the USSR and the United States and to improve the entire international situation. The Soviet Union is prepared to continue and deepen cooperation on the broadest range of issues. "The expansion of constructive collaboration between the USSR and the United States," the telegram notes, "would accord with the interests both of our peoples and of the entire world community."

Take the very important areas of our relations. Arms control—there have been big achievements here (the Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles) and difficult, but entirely feasible prospects (a treaty on the reduction of strategic nuclear armaments by 50 percent and the reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals). In Soviet-U.S. bilateral relations proper contacts have been galvanized in a whole variety of areas, sometimes of a nature that only 2 years ago would have seemed totally fantastic—with the involvement, for example, of Academician A.D. Sakharov, who is currently on a 3-week trip to the United States. Regional conflicts? The Geneva agreements on Afghanistan; the development of events around Cambodia, which, apart from anything else, makes Chinese-Vietnamese normalization possible and is conducive to the development of Soviet-Chinese relations; new chances of a settlement of the conflict in southern Africa, and so on—and all this not without interaction of the two nuclear powers.

Finally, the human rights problem: It has been used in the West to illustrate insuperable differences between the two social and political systems and as a means of

inflaming ill-feeling toward Soviet policy. Here too there have been changes. We have ceased to steer clear of the problem. In fact, restructuring has given it a broad practical and philosophical significance which goes far beyond the freedom-to-leave-the-USSR aspect, which is the one most exploited in the West. Freedom has widened, there have been more departures—on visits or permanently. But this is just a tiny fraction of what we now mean by human rights. Basically it is a new model of democratic socialism, of the achievement of true democracy wherein every citizen, under the protection of a law-based state, can function freely as a public and private individual.

Yes, the role of partner has been allotted to George Bush by history, but how is he going to fit the part? The answer will take time. The new President, with his lengthy Washington experience, has the reputation of a pragmatist—unlike Reagan the "ideologue" who arrived in the capital in January 1981 as a kind of messiah of the U.S. conservatives and as an anticommunist crusader. It is reported that Bush has no overall foreign policy concept and that he is therefore less capable of being carried away by the idea of a nuclear-free world, but that, on the other hand, he has more critical reservations about the "Strategic Defense Initiative." There are other differences between their positions, which perhaps will be more evident now that Bush has been elected and there is not the same vital need to stress the continuity motif.

However, the main difference, in my view, lies in the fact that Reagan is summing up the results, while Bush is only just feeling his way and taking the inevitable lessons in learning to be a president. He is coming to power at the beginning of 1989 rather than 1981, at a time when the thesis about the "Soviet threat" and about the "expansion of communism" (the ideology which was the cornerstone of his predecessor's foreign policy) has lost its force. Although the roots of distrust still run deep, the Americans have another image of the Soviet Union, not the image of an enemy but of a country absorbed in the cause of restructuring at home and in efforts to humanize international relations.

Bush could not but take account of the predominant public mood during his campaign fight. He will not be able to ignore it in the post of president, either. It will be he who will be molded by historical circumstances. Bush has eulogized the position-of-strength policy, and that was to be expected. However, that is the old gospel of U.S. presidents which dates back to Truman, and in the present circumstances, in my opinion, there is no need for us to exaggerate the practical consequences of this kind of eulogy. Bush has sworn his loyalty to the MX and Midgetman missiles, but as Don Oberdorfer, the well-informed THE WASHINGTON POST observer rightly noted, "as distinct from the first years of the Reagan administration, the Bush administration will probably be subjected to strong pressure in favor of curbing the growth of and possibly even reducing the military budget." This pressure from Congress, where the Democrats have a majority, will be reflecting the predominant public mood. The new President will hardly be able to go against this mood, especially if the same movement—toward a reduction of the military budget—is authoritatively registered by U.S. observers in the Soviet Union.

Here is a quote of a recent Bush statement which conveys his cautiousness and familiar duplicity: "We have reasons to hope for progress. Respect for America and our allies is increasing. And with the advent to power of Gorbachev and Shevardnadze, despite all their firmness, a new and more enlightened generation of Soviet leaders has emerged in the Kremlin, a generation with a much greater potential for establishing contacts with the West and much more committed to glasnost and internal restructuring. This inspires hope, but it must in no way weaken our commitment to a peace based on strength—a policy we must continue in the future."

Restructuring international relations to mutual benefit or trying to get the better of the other side in the new conditions via the former power politics—this is the choice which, one way or another, the U.S. allies in West Europe are having to make, and are making in favor of restructuring. This is the choice that also confronts our new partner in Washington. There is a good chance that, despite all the "incoherence" in his stance, he will also tend toward the first option, and he will do so the sooner the more successfully our internal restructuring progresses, thus exerting a powerful political and moral influence on the world climate.

PRAVDA Quotes Bush on Relations With USSR

PM1111114988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Nov 88 Second Edition p

[Roundup of campaign remarks by U.S. President Elect G. Bush prepared by V. Chernyshev: "'Protracted Conflict' Or 'New Era.' What G. Bush Says About the USSR and Soviet-U.S. Relations"; first three paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] The U.S. election marathon is over. In the near future many articles in the world press will be devoted to analyzing the results of the U.S. election, and long treatises will be written on the positions of the new master of the White House—G. Bush. Now, in the first moments after the name of the 41st U.S. president became known, we Soviet people are primarily worried by the question: How will relations between our countries take shape over the next few years? Will Soviet-U.S. dialogue continue and how meaningful and effective will it be? What does G. Bush think about the Soviet Union's policy and its place and significance in resolving the problems facing mankind today? In general, how does he see the USSR—as a perfidious enemy who can't be trusted, or as a serious partner with whom he can talk, seek mutually acceptable solutions, and do business, as is customary in a civilized world?

In the course of the election campaign the Republican candidate frequently expressed his views on the Soviet Union and on Moscow's policy. Of course, one must bear in mind the fact that his remarks at numerous rallies and meetings and in interviews with newspaper, radio, and television correspondents were all designed to win votes. This was no government program requiring in-depth analysis and considered evaluation but speeches sometimes made in the heat of polemics that were not devoid of specific, short-term tasks. Nonetheless they cannot fail to be of interest to Soviet people.

Here is what he said:

—"My generation lived under the cloud of war—world war and 'cold war.' Some of our life we lived in the sunlight, but the shadow of struggle and rivalry with the Soviet Union always loomed over us. This struggle and this rivalry have still not ended. But I must tell you that your generation has a chance to escape from this shadow and finally enjoy the sunlight with no sense of fear."

—"Now is not the time to abandon a realistic interpretation of the motives guiding the Soviet Union. Certainly, the Soviets' ambitions are contained by their own troubles. But they are also still contained by our might, our ability to prevent aggression, and the unity of the democratic countries. To abandon this and turn from this path would mean disaster for us.... Abandoning the course of peace through strength in the hope of voluntary restraint on the part of the Soviet Union would also mean wasting an exceptionally important opportunity."

—"...U.S.-Soviet relations must hold one of the top places on our foreign policy agenda so long as the Soviet Union has the power to destroy our civilization.

"...We welcome what Gorbachev is saying, and the steps that he has taken along the path of greater openness and broader reforms have made a great impression on me, but ultimately the Soviet Union must be judged on the basis of the results that it achieves...."

—"...With the arrival of Gorbachev and Shevardnadze in the leadership, for all their firmness, a new and more enlightened generation of Soviet leaders who possess far greater capacities for contacts with the West and are more committed to glasnost and domestic restructuring appeared in the Kremlin.

"This inspires hope but we must not by any means weaken our devotion to peace through strength—a policy that we must continue."

—"We have begun to build new relations with the Soviet Union. These relations require constant circumspection and a sense of realism, but we can say that peace is setting in everywhere—and this is no coincidence.

"This is occurring because we have implemented a policy of strength over the last 8 years. We have shown consistency and patience at talks and have demonstrated our determination to fulfill our commitments."

—"Soviet leaders would not have any incentive to sit down at the negotiating table with us if we carried out the task of disarming America for them!"

—"...I am also on the side of restructuring, but we now want to see facts and tangible changes in Soviet society. It is easier to proclaim than to implement restructuring.... I am full of determination to continue what President Reagan has done by preserving the friendly relations that he has developed. I hope to hold regular summit meetings with the Kremlin if I become president."

—"We must be sure that the people who head our country understand what it means to take up the challenge and fulfill our commitments. We must be sure that they will continue talks with the Soviets on a realistic basis...."

—"We are now at a very important phase in the development of relations between the two great powers—the United States and the Soviet Union. Many changes are taking place and considerable progress has been made in relations between us. We must be realists and we must be correctly informed. That is why, if I am elected president, I will give instructions to the U.S. secretary of state I appoint to meet with his NATO colleagues as quickly as possible and then task him to seek the earliest possible meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze to discuss a whole range of problems with the Soviet Union.

"I will ask the secretary of state to inform the USSR that I am ready to meet with General Secretary Gorbachev in the very near future, which would serve the interests of world peace. My aim in holding such a meeting would be not to attempt to achieve any important breakthrough but to begin a serious and blunt dialogue in order to examine the question of what our positions are and how we can best advance along the path of further arms reductions and reducing tension in various regions, toward a reliable peace."

Prospects for USSR-U.S. Ties Under Bush Viewed
LD1011135588 Moscow World Service in English 0810 GMT 10 Nov 88

[From the "Update" program presented by Dmitriy Linnik, with Yuriy Reshetnikov]

[Excerpt] [Linnik] You have undoubtedly heard in the news: The Republican nominee George Bush was elected president of the United States in Tuesday's elections, beating Democratic rival Michael Dukakis in 40 out of the 50 states. Meanwhile, world leaders are sending their messages of congratulation to the president-elect, who is to occupy the White House on 20 January after the

traditional inaugural ceremony. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev joined other world leaders in wishing the new American leader success in the post.

Now, what does the change in the American leadership spell for the future of Soviet-American relations and the world at large? What can we expect from the new American president as he takes up his office next January?

[Reshetnikov] Well, naturally, we expect to be able to continue working for peace and disarmament with the new American leader. I understand George Bush is a close follower of Ronald Reagan's policies aimed at improving Soviet-American relations. President Reagan's policy successes, such as improved ties with the Soviet Union, have played an important role in George Bush's presidential campaign. He has been able to cast himself in the image of a successor to such policies. Certainly the themes of continued peace and prosperity have been the trump cards the Republican nominee has used throughout his campaign and there is no reason to believe that he will change that posture once he assumes the presidential office.

[Linnik] Foreign news media have reported quiet satisfaction in the Soviet Union at the election of George Bush as the leader most likely to maintain continuity in the improving ties between the two nations. Is this assessment correct, do you think?

[Reshetnikov] Up to the last moment the Soviet news media and Soviet officials in general have been careful not to show any preferences with regard to the U.S. presidential race, fearing that such statements might be construed as official Moscow's backing for one or the other candidate. Personally, I think most Soviet experts on the United States feel more comfortable with George Bush as the U.S. leader.

[Linnik] Him being more predictable.

[Reshetnikov] Right. Boris Pyadyshev, a senior Soviet foreign expert, said Wednesday that even in areas where the two countries were in disagreement the election of Bush was preferable because we know, as he said, what the Republican policy is and what good and bad we can expect. There is calm among Soviet specialists on America, Pyadyshev said. He noted there are good prospects for successful movement ahead, to build on the already solid foundations laid over the past 3 years.

[Linnik] Then there is this question, which is in the minds of many people: Is there a likelihood of an early summit meeting with Soviet officials?

[Reshetnikov] Well certainly we hope so. Of course we expect that the dust will have to settle first from the U.S. presidential campaign trail, but both sides have expressed their readiness for an early resumption of the dialogue at the summit level. The first 6 years of the Reagan administration had been allowed to proceed without any major dialogue between the two powers.

[Linnik] That's putting it mildly. And we are aware how much good summit meetings can do to promote bilateral relations and international climate as a whole. While Republican George Bush was elected president, the Democrats improved their standings, their majority, in Congress. Does this signal continued conflict between the White House and the lawmakers? That's a concern of home policies of the United States, but still.

[Reshetnikov] That's certainly the prospect held out by most observers. But then, conflicts between the executive and legislative branches are quite common. Many Democrats must have been hurt by the Republicans' aggressive campaigning, which is sure to pit them against each other in Congress along partisan lines. It is believed that conflicts between the new administration and Congress are likely to range from battles over spending on social programs, resumption of aid for the Nicaraguan contras, and on the controversial Strategic Defense Initiative.

[Linnik] Well, one certain conflict looming ahead is likely to focus on the question of aid to the Nicaraguan contras. How does that issue stand?

[Reshetnikov] George Bush and Michael Dukakis differed sharply on the issue of giving aid to Nicaragua's contra rebels, with George Bush of course favoring the assistance while the Massachussetts governor strongly opposed it. No one expects the new president to call for an early resumption of aid to the contras, because at the moment the moment the Democrat-dominated Congress is not likely to pass such a measure. [passage omitted]

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Views Bush Victory

PM1011120588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Nov 88 Second Edition p 3

[Yu. Subbotin article: "George Bush—41st U.S. President"]

[Text] According to the latest, albeit still not final data, the Republican candidate has collected 54 percent of the votes, and his rival—the Democrat Michael Dukakis—46 percent. Bush has enlisted the support of 426 of the 538 members of the electoral college, which formally has the final say in determining the next president.

So, no surprises. George Bush has become the 41st U.S. president. He has won in the same style as he conducted the entire campaign: with no particular splendor, but confidently and dependably. A characteristic detail—there were not many young people among the numerous party activists and ordinary enthusiasts gathered at Washington's Hilton Hotel late in the evening of 8 November to celebrate the Republican victory. And it is not just that the political activeness of American youth

has diminished appreciably compared with the seventies and, particularly, the sixties. The voters on whom Bush was gambling and who led him to triumph are people of a mature age with a substantial position in society and settled, quite conservative views.

The Bush campaign was conducted under the slogan of continuity and stability. The constant stressing of his rival's lack of political experience on a national and international scale was effective. Many people in America today believe that Dukakis must "grow a little more" as a politician. Well, he has time. And his experience of involvement in the protracted presidential race, in which he was a finalist, will undoubtedly stand him in good stead.

President Bush takes up office in January. The transitional period is eased for him because he has now been part of the U.S. Administration for 8 years and is well acquainted with its inner workings.

The legacy that George Bush was seeking so avidly and that has finally come to him cannot be assessed unequivocally. Naturally, in the heat of the election campaign the Reagan administration's achievements were stressed in every possible way and even embroidered. They do, of course, exist. But there are also problems, of which they endeavored not to remind the voters. And chief among them is the colossal budget deficit. George Bush has not yet said what he intends to do about it.

The chief cause of the deficit is military spending, which is excessive even for such a rich country as the United States. But Bush, to judge from his statements, does not intend to reduce it. It remains either to cut the already curtailed appropriations for social needs or to raise taxes. The latter would mean breaking one of the chief election promises of the new president.

George Bush also has a difficult task to resolve in the international sphere. On the one hand, he has proclaimed continuity as regards continuing the dialogue with Moscow and a desire to conclude new agreements on nuclear missile arms. And, on the other, adherence to the "position of strength" policy, "firmness on defense issues," and the intention to implement full-scale realization of the SDI program.

Evidently with regard to this stand of the new president, the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization is embarking in the very near future on the implementation of an extensive program of tests of the systems and arms earmarked for waging "Star Wars." According to the informed magazine AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY, on 27 April next year it is planned to put into orbit a satellite for an experiment in the course of which it is proposed to test a beam weapon. Tests of the ballistic missile intercept systems are scheduled for the summer of 1989 and the spring of 1990. All this is jeopardizing the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Limitation of ABM Systems, which is considered the most important obstacle to implementing SDI.

The very near future will show how George Bush will deal with the legacy he has inherited. I would like to believe that the rich experience of state activity which the new president has and political reason will play the decisive role here.

Naturally, the election of a new White House incumbent pushes into the background all the other events happening in the country. However, simultaneously with the president and the vice president, Americans were electing one-third of the senators, all the members of the House of Representatives, the governors of 12 out of 50 states, the mayors of hundreds of cities, and deputies of local legislatures.

In the majority of cases the Democrats have achieved victory. And, most importantly, they have retained control over both houses of the U.S. Congress. The unique separation of legislative and executive power between the Democrats and the Republicans seems to be becoming a tradition in the United States. To all appearances, the long drawn-out conflict between the White House and Congress will continue.

Trade Union Paper Profiles Bush, Views Stances

PM1111154788 Moscow TRUD in Russian 11 Nov 88 p 3

[Own correspondent V. Sisnev "Political Portrait": "Just Who Is George Bush, the 41st U.S. President?"]

[Text] Washington, 10 Nov—At polling places all over America on 8 November people were able to get a superbly printed flier with a color picture of the Republican candidate for the White House. As concisely as possible it set out the main points of George Bush's record as vice president and formulated his main policy aims should he be elected president. Undecided voters could read the flier and learn the following:

"He persuaded the West European leaders to take a firm stand in the face of the Soviet nuclear threat and thereby got the Russians back to the negotiating table for talks on an INF agreement." Nothing else is said about this period of his political career, although it is stated very clearly and categorically that he "persuaded" some and "forced" others.

The other seven points make no mention of the unemployed and homeless in the country, or of the trillion-dollar state debt. Bush merely repeats the promise never to raise taxes under any circumstances and to impose the death penalty for "murderers, traitors, and drug barons." As for foreign policy, he made two commitments in his final campaign speech: to "use military

force to protect American lives" and to "maintain U.S. defenses at the level where we can talk with the Soviet Union from a position of strength."

I heard Bush talk about the "position of strength" even when the first two Pershings were being destroyed, and it sounded like an incantation throughout the campaign. So it was clearly no accident that it got on the flier. This is one of the few conclusions that can be unreservedly drawn about the real views of the 41st president of the United States. As to the rest, he is probably the biggest mystery in the history of White House incumbents.

The outlines of his life are quite clear, and some of the details prompt undoubted respect. I am thinking above all of his war record. In the fine portrait referred to above Bush is dressed in a U.S. military pilot's leather flying jacket with his name stitched on along with the rank "Lieutenant." The son of a millionaire banker, he, like many of his contemporaries from similar backgrounds could, of course, have avoided frontline service, but in June 1942 the 18-year-old G. Bush became the youngest U.S. Navy pilot.

He clocked more than 1,000 hours' combat on a torpedo bomber and repeatedly took part in operations in the Pacific theater. He had to be rescued from his downed aircraft on three occasions, and in September 1944 he had to parachute into the ocean. By a miracle he was spotted and picked up by a U.S. submarine. Incidentally, all his planes were named "Barbara" for his fiancee, now his wife and the mother of his five children. It was a dynastic marriage—her father was also a millionaire and the publisher of the well-known MCCALLS magazine. Bush was demobilized with the highest flying medal for bravery.

As expected of someone of his standing, he entered Yale University, where he won the honorary title of baseball captain—he was generally successful at sports. Having earned a degree in economics, he founded two Texan oil drilling and sales companies with the help of a financier uncle. By the early sixties Bush Junior had become a millionaire himself. However, he was drawn more and more to politics and, dropping business, was appointed U.S. permanent representative at the United Nations after several unsuccessful attempts to run for Congress.

Then President Nixon, who had long had his eye on him and had even "measured him up" for the vice presidential spot, made him chairman of the Republican National Committee. In this capacity Bush was later to make gigantic efforts to prove to his countrymen after the Watergate scandal that the Republican Party was not the same thing as Nixon—who had been caught in the act. President Ford sent him as his representative to Beijing, where he spent 18 months, and then recalled him in 1975 and offered him the post of head of the CIA.

Coming to the CIA as an outsider, Bush became popular quite quickly, showing the same qualities that had helped his career in the early stages—lack of arrogance, and loyalty to his colleagues. It is said that he refused to use the special elevator set aside for the CIA director, and rode to his floor along with ordinary staffers.

But it was not only a democratic approach that marked his stay in Langley—the spy department headquarters. In that position he helped to set up the so-called "Group B"—a commission of very right-wing experts who were unhappy about the CIA's "overly cautious" estimates of Soviet military power. With his tacit support this "independent" group came to conclusions that were the cornerstone of the entire range of U.S. policy for many years: The Soviet Union allegedly strives not simply for military parity with the United States, but for superiority over it. And this, clearly, is the last thing that can be said with any certainty about G. Bush's activity right up to the present day.

At the Democratic convention in Atlanta Senator Kennedy repeated a striking phrase that was to hound the Republican favorite for the next few months: "Where was George?" Kennedy listed all the scandals linked to the Reagan administration and asked each time: "Where was the vice president then?" Did he know about "Irangate" and the secret deals with drug traders? And if not, why not? By the end of his speech the auditorium was already chanting "Where was George?" The same pattern was subsequently repeated at many of the election rallies where the vice president spoke.

Indeed, answering this seemingly simple question is by no means simple. Bush's attitude to most of the important problems of Reagan's two terms is not recorded anywhere. By dint of his position he undoubtedly attended sessions of the National Security Council, which is headed by the President, but never spoke at them. Having vowed loyalty to Reagan, he never once broke that vow.

Bush was considered one of the "most peace-loving" of his party's candidates on the grounds that he had supported from the outset the INF Treaty and the idea of 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive weapons, which most of his colleagues rejected. But after all, he was a member of the Reagan administration pursuing this line. Some liberals here are scared that Bush, now stepping out of Reagan's "shadow" for the first time, may want to show his countrymen and the whole world that he is "no worse." But in what sense?

But all this is in the realm of speculation. The 41st President's position (politically speaking) at this crucial stage of human history is a question only time will answer.

Daily Carries George Bush Political Profile

PM1011142188 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 10 Nov 88 p 3

[Ye. Menkes article: "Reagan's Heir? Political Portrait of George Bush, 41st U.S. President"]

[Text] Moscow—So the months-long U.S. election campaign is over. As expected, on 8 November more votes went to the Republican candidate, George Bush.

The final calculations have yet to be made, but the fact of his victory is beyond doubt. Bush's rival, Democrat Michael Dukakis, governor of the state of Massachusetts, has publicly admitted defeat.

Just who is the new incumbent of the White House, the politician who will lead one of the biggest world powers for the next 4 years?

Although Bush's name is strongly associated with the state of Texas, he was born in the northeast of the country. He was born 12 June 1924 in the city of Milton (Massachusetts) to a rich, quite well-known family. On 12 June 1942, on his 18th birthday, he volunteered as an airman in the Navy. He served on the aircraft carrier "San Jacinto" and was the youngest pilot in the U.S. Navy. In September 1944, on his 58th combat mission, a shell from a Japanese antiaircraft gun downed his aircraft over the ocean. Bush was the last to leave the aircraft and was rescued by a submarine. In 1945-1948 he was a student at one of the most prestigious higher education establishments in the United States—Yale University—from which he graduated with a bachelor's degree in the humanities, with "economics" as his special subject.

After the completion of his studies, Texas appears in the Bush biography. He went to the "Lone Star State" and plunged into the oil business. He set up oil and gas companies and managed some of them himself. In August 1958 he became an active member of the Republican Party. And, in 1966, having sold off the Zapata Offshore Company, he dedicated himself fully to politics. He was a member of the House of Representatives, permanent U.S. representative to the United Nations, and director of the CIA.

In 1979 Bush sought the Republican nomination for the presidency. During that election campaign he criticized the arms race while at the same time, however, opposing the SALT II Treaty. But, as is well known, in the 1980 elections Republican Party's colors were defended by Ronald Reagan, who emerged the victor.

In an attempt to secure the votes of Bush's supporters, Reagan offered him the post of U.S. vice president.

The role played by Bush in the Reagan administration is eloquent testimony about him. Above all, in the number two post for 8 years he invariably helped the President in everything, while almost always remaining in the shadows himself. As vice president, Bush was president pro tem of the Senate throughout these years. He played an active part in the activity of the White House apparatus. He was chairman of the crisis management group and chairman of the task force for reviewing regulatory enactments. On the whole, Bush's prestige in political circles is quite high. According to analysts, he played a key role among the people exerting the greatest influence on the formation of foreign policy.

On his way to the White House, Bush has had to overcome numerous, sometimes quite difficult obstacles. Of course, a lot of energy has been spent on the marathon rivalry with the Democrats. But there has also been a "battle" with himself and even with...Ronald Reagan. Bush, NEWSWEEK once remarked, has tried to learn to "come across" in public and on television and succeed in creating the kind of "image" that impresses Americans. "For the last 10 years," NEWSWEEK said, "Bush has tried to master this mass news medium and has studied it like a foreign language. He has consulted with 'trainers'—specialists in how to speak and act on television. He tried changing his glasses and even wore contact lenses."

What has Bush not had to contend with?! But during the television debates with Dukakis, particularly the second one, he adopted an easy, confident, aggressive manner—and the public liked him. He dealt with charges of liberalism by choosing the conservative Dan Quayle as the candidate for vice president. And as for "syndromes" and "factors".... Bush has answered this at a stroke by winning the White House nevertheless. Even the serious accusation of complicity in "Irangate" has receded into the background.

So what will be the policies of the new president—the 41st president in the country's history? Bush will take the reins of government at the beginning of 1989, almost exactly 200 years after the inauguration of his namesake, the first president—George Washington. What course will be taken by the millionaire and the darling of millionaires? Entrepreneurs "believe—and not without reason—that, as president, Bush will pursue a policy fully consonant with their financial interests," the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR stressed recently. The weekly FORTUNE conducted a poll in conjunction with the CNN television company whose results showed that 86 percent of the heads of the biggest companies in the United States would like to see Bush in the White House. Only 7 (!) percent of the heads of corporations preferred his rival.

In short, Reagan's heir? Well, many people in the United States and other countries would not object to that, above all with regard to relations with the USSR, arms reduction, and disarmament. In fact, speaking a week before the election, last Tuesday, at Notre Dame University (Indiana), Bush himself spoke out unequivocally on that score. We are now at a very important stage in

the development of relations between the two superpowers—the United States and the USSR—he said. Many changes are taking place and considerable progress has been made in relations between us. I will ask the secretary of state I appoint to inform the Soviet Union that I am ready to meet with General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev in the very near future, which would serve the interests of world peace. According to Bush, the aim of such a meeting should be serious and blunt dialogue on questions of advancing along the path of further arms reductions and a reduction in tension toward a reliable peace.

He also stated his intention to secure a ban on chemical and bacteriological weapons and the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. At the same time Bush has stressed that he intends to deal with the USSR from a position of strength. And the place he chose for that speech, significantly, was Westminster College in Fulton (Missouri). Naturally, he recalled the well known speech given there in Fulton in 1946 by British Premier Winston Churchill, which, as is well known, served as the signal for the start of the "cold war." Is he the heir of Reagan, the Reagan of his first years in office, in this too?

But the situation is quite different from 1980. Pollsters reckon that the new U.S. president will have to reassess priorities in the sphere of national defense. He is being prompted to do this, in particular, by the substantial changes that have taken place in the last few years in the views of the American people on security problems.

In a number of his election speeches, Bush said that he does not intend to abandon the MX missile or the B-1 bomber. THE WASHINGTON POST noted that Bush made the need to continually create new nuclear arms one of the main themes of his campaign. But what about the notorious SDI? On the one hand, Bush frequently confirmed his commitment to the "Star Wars" program, on the other, he pointed out that "full deployment" of the SDI system "would cost too much."

The current presidential campaign unfolded against a backdrop of relative economic prosperity, a reduction in the level of unemployment, and a slowing down in the rate of inflation. However, it is uncertain how long this trend will "last." Economists predict new financial and economic storms in the near future.

Describing certain areas of his domestic policy, Bush favors the formation of joint state-private sector enterprises (in order to create more competitive industry), he talks of his intention to conduct an offensive against the budget deficit via "tough choices" of decisions on expenditure. He is also gambling that economic growth will increase budget revenue. He is also promising to resolutely combat crime.

All these statements lack something—concrete details on ways to implement these promises.

Thus, the long months of the U.S. election campaign are over. In 2 months Bush will officially take up his post. We hope that the new administration will successfully continue the constructive dialogue with the Soviet Union initiated in recent years by USSR and U.S. leaders.

Press Reports Bush News Conference in Houston

PM1111114588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Dispatch by own correspondent A. Shalnev: "United States: G. Bush Press Conference; J. Baker Appointed Secretary of State of Future Administration"]

[Text] New York—On Wednesday in Houston, Texas, George Bush held his first news conference since he was elected U.S. President. At the conference he announced his first decision—appointing James Baker as secretary of state in the administration which will come to power on 20 January.

This appointment will probably be the only one that will generate no particular quarrels in the Washington corridors of power and for which problem-free ratification by the Senate is virtually guaranteed. James Baker is an authoritative politicians, highly valued by both Republicans and Democrats.

I have frequently heard it said that Baker was one of those who acted as the initiator of the process of the transfer of the White House's stance on the entire package of questions of Soviet-U.S. relations from the channel of pure ideology to the channel of pragmatic decisions and actions, whose results are now obvious to all.

Baker's experience will be tested almost immediately after G. Bush has been sworn in. The secretary of state will set off for a series of meetings with the leaders of the European NATO countries and in addition, G. Bush has announced, for a meeting with USSR Foreign Minister G. Shevardnadze. According to the present vice president and president elect, Baker will inform the Soviet side of Bush's desire to meet with Mr Gorbachev.

"Will this meeting simply be to get to know each other?" someone asked.

"We already know each other," G. Bush replied. "I have never supported the idea of holding meetings just to meet. I want progress to take place."

It follows from the statements of the president elect that this can be progress in any field of Soviet-U.S. relations—not only, for instance, in the arms control sphere but also in the field of human rights and regional conflicts. If there are grounds for supposing that there will be progress, I will go to the meeting, G. Bush stressed.

The president elect was asked whether he did not foresee a link between resolving problems like the elimination of chemical and biological weapons, the reduction of conventional types of arms, and the conclusion of a strategic arms treaty and the way in which the Soviet Union withdraws its troops from Afghanistan.

There will be no firm link, G. Bush said, but he added: "During the election campaign I spoke of the need to constantly ease regional tension. If the Soviets decide not to withdraw their troops from Afghanistan—and I doubt they will make that decision—it will be a complicating factor for the entire package of relations. But I believe the Soviets will fulfill their commitment."

One further question put to Bush concerned foreign policy—the question of aid to the contras. The president elect said that this was a priority problem. "I will seek to maintain pressure on the Sandinists."

On Wednesday I talked with the major U.S. political scientist Michael Mandelbaum, a staffer at the International Relations Council.

"Should we in the Soviet Union expect any surprises from G. Bush's administration?" I asked.

"I don't think there will be any particular surprises," was the answer. "There will be a continuation and development of the course followed by R. Reagan. I base my conclusion on the following facts. First, Bush was part of the Reagan administration. Second, what that administration did in its second and final term corresponded with what Bush himself preferred. And, finally, Americans as a whole are satisfied with the way Soviet-U.S. relations have been built in recent years. It is no accident that these relations were not a problem or central theme in the presidential campaign that has ended...."

TASS Cites 'Secret' Space Shuttle Mission

LD1311064788 Moscow TASS in English 0634 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Text] New York November 13 TASS—A crew of the U.S. space shuttle Atlantis arrived at the cosmodrome in Cape Canaveral, Florida, on Saturday. Late in November it is to depart for space on a secret military mission. Five astronauts will undergo a two-week training session at the cosmodrome and a pilot pre-start countdown. The exact time of the Atlantis' launch and duration of its flight are top secret. According to U.S. press reports, the space crew will put into orbit a military satellite for collecting intelligence information.

Training for 30 Nov Launch

LD1411102388 Moscow TASS in English 0950 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Text] New York November 14 TASS—A two-day pre-start training session of a crew of the U.S. reusable spaceship Atlantis started Sunday at a space-launch complex in Cape Canaveral, Florida. It is to set out late in November on a secret military mission.

Five cosmonauts visited a launching site where they were instructed about what they should do in case of fire, fuel leakage or other emergencies on the day of the launching. Today the crew led by Flight Commander Robert Gibson will put on their space suits and take their seats in the cabin of the Atlantis. The last pre-start trial count-down will be held which will include the checking of the communication sysem and other systems of the spacecraft. A trial start of the engine will also be held. It will be turned off several seconds before the calculated launching time.

The exact time of the launching of the Atlantis and the duration of its space mission are kept secret. The day of the launching is expected to be announced Wednesday when specialists of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) see for themselves that the Atlantis is ready for a space flight. The exact time will be announced only nine minutes before the start. According to NASA, the Atlantis is to be lauched between 6.32 and 9.32 in the morning, supposedly on November 30.

According to the U.S. press, the crew of the Atlantis will place in orbit a military satellite intended for collecting intelligence data about the Soviet Union.

Pentagon Interested in 'Far Space' Shuttle

LD1011111188 Moscow TASS in English 1039 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] New York November 10 TASS—Technology is in hand in the United States for the development of a new class of resusable space vehicles, a far space shuttle, 'AEROSPACE AMERICA' journal reports.

A fully resuable two-stage space vehicle will be capable of making routine flights and delivering various payloads between earth, distant points within the geocentric field and beyond.

The concept derives from work spanning 22 years. It combines both the already known technological solutions and utterly new developments.

Scientists visualize that the first stage, a resuable single-stage-to-orbit shuttle, and will serve to bring to low earth orbits the so-called second-stage super-orbital resusable spacecraft. [sentence as received]

The manned or unmanned second-stage superorbital shuttle will be able to depart from the first stage and continue the flight by means of its own engines.

The developers of the far space shuttle visualize that its first stage may also serve as a sort of operational utility base in low earth orbit for repair and refuelling of superorbital shuttles in the accomplishment of long-duration missions such as sattelite inspection and maintenance, space rescue, and other tasks.

Great hopes are being set on new shuttles by the Pentagon which assigns an important role to them in the accomplishment of both reconnaissance missions and real combat tasks.

Velikhov, Scientific Delegation Visit U.S.

PM0911172188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report dated 8 November under the rubric "The Planet's 24 Hours": "USSR-United States"]

[Text] The public organization International Foundation for the Survival and Development of Mankind has held a press conference in Somerville (Massachusetts). The Soviet delegation headed by Ye.P. Velikhov, chairman of the foundation's council of directors and vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which has arrived in the United States, participated in it. One of the chief aims of the foundation, which was created at its constituent session in Moscow in January 1988 and also has centers in Washington and Stockholm, is to promote the resolution of tasks common to all mankind, such as arms control, international security, environmental protection, and defense of human rights. Ye.P. Velikhov reported that he hopes for the implementation next year of a major youth project, within whose framework approximately 2,000 children from the USSR and the United States will be able to visit each other.

U.S. Journalists Union Members on USSR Visit

PM1111100988 Moscow TRUD in Russian 6 Nov 88 p 4

[I. Bryantsev report: "Destroying Stereotypes and Developing Contacts"]

[Text] A delegation of journalists of the U.S. labor union press has visited our country at TRUD's invitation. The American guests visited the editorial office and the USSR Union of Journalists and traveled to Estonia and Azerbaijan. They got to know about the life of labor collectives and the activity of union organizations at enterprises and on kolkhozes.

Just before flying home, Mary Forbes, editor of the U.S. Association of Flight Attendants magazine FLIGHT-LOG, shared her impressions on the trip: "Our mass media have been giving a distorted picture of life in your country for a long time. Unfortunately, the same idea about the Soviet Union also became firmly established in the mind of the leadership of U.S. labor unions. For 2 weeks we have studied in detail the life of Soviet people and formed a quite different idea. We have had the opportunity to see different regions of your country and to get to know how Soviet people work and relax. Quite a few negative stereotypes were destroyed during this time. You do, of course, have quite a few outstanding problems, but we were able to see how the preconditions necessary to overcome them are being created. The main thing is that we saw for ourselves that Soviet people want to live in peace and are seeking to strengthen friendship with the American people."

Peter Gilmore, editor of UE NEWS, the Pittsburgh-published magazine of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, commented: "I began my acquaintance with the Soviet Union back when I was a student and working on a diploma on your press. I learned very many new things during this trip. You have your difficulties and problems along with your achievements. But this has not caused my respect for the Soviet Union to diminish. I will be following the way the the restructuring policy is implemented with great interest."

The delegation of U.S. journalists was received by AUCCTU Secretary G.I. Yanayev. The American guests were briefed in detail on how the restructuring and democratization of Soviet society are being carried out and on the important role that trade unions play in this. There was a frank exchange of opinions on Soviet-U.S. contacts between working people and on the obstacles to Soviet trade union delegations' visiting the United States. The delegation members noted the importance of strengthening and expanding contacts between the two countries' working people and developing bilateral union dialogue.

U.S. Urges Belgium To Join New F-16 Project

LD0911072488 Moscow TASS in English 0711 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] Washington November 9 TASS—The United States has urged Belgium to participate in the development of a new fighter plane, the F-16 Agile Falcon, which is being worked out by the U.S. General Dynamics Corporation.

The DEFENSE NEWS WEEKLY, which is well informed in military policy matters, reported that U.S. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci had sent a letter to the Belgian defense minister at the end of October, stating that Belgium should take upon itself part of the expenses on the development of the new fighter plane. Otherwise, the plane will be developed without Belgian participation. Denmark, Holland, and Norway have joined the project.

According to the existing plans, the Agile Falcon is to be phased into service with the air force of the countries participating in the project in 1995.

Belgium is disturbed not only by the costs of the development of the new plane. At present France is trying to secure Belgium's participation in the development of a French fighter plane of a similar tykpe, the Rafale.

USSR-U.S. Roundtable Held on Reform Opponents

PM1011150188 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 4 Nov 88 p 2

[L. Telen report: "Who Are the Opponents of Restructuring"]

[Text] "Restructuring: Supporters and Opponents. View From Both Sides of the Ocean"—Soviet and U.S. scientists, journalists, and public figures chose this topic for a "roundtable" conversation. Their meeting, which was organized at the initiative of Victor Winston, publisher of the journal SOVIET ECONOMY, took place at the "Progress" Publishing House.

Who are the opponents of restructuring? Why does each person understand restructuring in his own way today? Is there an alternative to the process which has begun? These and other political and economic questions were the focus of attention of the "roundtable" participants. And the answers to them were very diverse.

Doctor of Economical Sciences N. Shmelev: "It is incorrect to think that specific people oppose restructuring. There are many competent and experienced specialists among the ministries' workers. But they are not supporters of the decisive changes. It is not people who oppose restructuring—it is functions that oppose it."

Sovietologist S. Cohen: "I think one of the main questions is whether your social environment is able to feed the political culture? It is essential to get rid of what you call political paralysis."

D. Shipler, official at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: "When we discuss policy, we invariably get around to economics, and vice versa. Isn't the reason why opposition to economic restructuring is so great the fact that it leads to radical political changes?"

P. Bunich, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Alternatives to radical restructuring are possible in principle—both neo-Stalinism and the 'cosmetic' repair of our system. This is why restructuring needs immediate success. Only then will the ranks of supporters expand in earnest. This success still does not exist, and does not exist precisely because we still fear profound changes, such as, for example, leasing. Yet we remember two quite successful experiments—the NEP [New Economic Policy] and China."

These few hours can scarcely change the positions of the participants in the debate—and they, of course, were not identical. But the "roundtable" provided food for thought and gave everyone the opportunity to put their arguments to the test and assess their opponent's position. Not so long ago this conversation between our scientists and Western Sovietologists would have been impossible. Now we are convinced that such meetings are both useful and fruitful. The "roundtable" at the "Progress" Publishing House confirmed this once again.

China

PRC Foreign Minister To Arrive 1 Dec

LD1011163488 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] The Soviet ambassador in China, Oleg Troyanovskiy, has said at a press conference in Beijing that the Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen will arrive in Moscow on the first of next month to hold talks with Eduard Shevardnadze. The Soviet foreign minister will later make a return visit to Beijing. The exchange of visits will prepare the Sino-Soviet summit meeting.

Li Peng Notes Summit Possible 'Next Year'

LD1111120188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1055 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Beijing, 11 Nov (TASS)—Prior to his departure on a visit to Thailand, Australia, and New Zealand, Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, addressed a press conference in Beijing's Shoudu Airport. Speaking about Soviet-Chinese relations, he stated that even though the question of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Beijing had not been discussed in particular, the Chinese-Soviet summit meeting can, if all goes well, take place during the first half of next year.

Replying to journalists' questions on the Cambodian problem, Li Peng said, in particular, that China supports and delivers arms to the three sides in the coaliton government of "Democratic Kampuchea" and not only to the "Khmer Rouge." According to the PRC premier, China's halting of military aid to "Democratic Kampuchea" depends on Vietnamese troops withdrawing from that country.

At a briefing held in the PRC Foreign Ministry in Beijing on Thursday, the official spokesman of the Foreign Ministry stated that China supports all efforts directed at an equitable and sensible solution of the Cambodian question. China expresses the hope that the four Cambodian sides will solve their problems via consultations and talks.

Government Sends Condolences to PRC Premier

PM1111130588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Cabled Condolences"]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has sent a cable to Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council. The cable reads:

"In connection with the natural calamity, the severe earthquake in Yunnan Province which has claimed human lives, we express profound condolences to the Government and the people of the PRC.

"Please convey our sincere sympathy to the families and friends of those who perished."

Kulikov Views Difficulties of PRC Reforms

LD0911224888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 9 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; V. Kulikov report entitled: "The Hard Road of the Chinese Reform"]

[Text] No one in China has forecast an easy road for the Chinese reform. Events today confirm that some of these problems are becoming very critical. Toward the end of the year inflationary phenomena have intensified. According to some data it has already reached 40 percent. Many foodstuffs have become more expensive, consumer goods prices are rising, the black market has become livlier, the real incomes of a significant portion of blue- and white-collar workers have dropped, city dwellers are lining up for inexpensive products, and goods in short supply quickly disappear from the shelves. Issues connected with the implementation of the principles of social justice are being ever more keenly raised in the press and at working people's meetings.

Such negative phenomena as speculation, corruption, and all types of abuses, including among the party and state apparatus employees, have also intensified in the society. Chinese television often screens footage of how the struggle against thieves, hooligans, and criminals is being waged.

The complexity of the economic situation in the country with a population 1 billion has given rise to quite a few commentaries in the foreign press, arguments, rumors, and suppositions. There has been talk of China turning off the course of reforms and of alleged differences in the Chinese leadership, particularly between China's main party and state leaders.

Speaking at a Beijing news conference devoted to the progress of economic reforms in the country, (Yuan Nu), representative of the State Council and well-known economist, denied such suppositions. We are continuing a comprehensive extension of the reform, although over the next 2 years the growth rate of the national economy is going to fall by 10 percent. Measures will be taken directed at harnessing inflation. Next to come will be a regulation of the activity of numerous companies and firms, putting the markets in order, and struggling against corruption, speculation, and other unhealthy phenomena in society. At the same time, next year we intend to increase the pay for blue- and white-collar workers.

Answering questions from journalists (Yuan Nu), representative of the State Council, denied statements that there are differences between China's leaders on issues of inflation and economic reform. He emphasized that the major directives on the question were unanimously approved at the recent Third CPC Central Committee Plenum. As far as different opinions on some specific questions of the reform are concerned, he added, that is a natural phenomenon. [video shows street scenes; shops; stalls; television clips; English-language press; news conference]

Science Cooperation With PRC Viewed

PM1011144588 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 5 Nov 88 p 3

[Article by K. Sarsenov, deputy chief of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology Department for Scientific and Technical Cooperation With Socialist Countries: "USSR-PRC: The Scientific Potential of Cooperation"]

[Text] Work is in full swing in the pavilions of the Central Exhibition Complex in Beijing: Preparations are under way for the Soviet science and technology exhibition opening there 7 November as part of Soviet Science and Technology Days in the PRC. It will be a very major event of this kind in the history of bilateral relations. The fact that the exhibits took up a whole train is indicative at least of the scale of the exhibition. Visitors will be presented with the whole panorama of scientific and technical achievements and research work in our country. The exhibition will be accompanied by lectures by leading scientists and specialists and an extensive commercial and cultural program.

Even a few years ago one would scarcely have suggested that such an event would soon be possible. Scientific and technical ties between our countries amounted at that time to no more than occasional familiarization trips. The signing of the interparliamentary agreement on scientific and technical cooperation in December 1984 was the starting point for the stepping up of these ties. Cooperation was thereby placed on a permanent footing and various forms of it were mapped out. These included the exchange of delegations of scientists, specialists, scientific and technical information, samples of products and materials, the holding of scientific symposiums and conferences, and joint research and development work.

A mechanism for bilateral exchange gradually evolved. The Soviet-Chinese Commission for Economic, Trade, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation set up a permanent subcommittee that took charge over questions of science and technology. This made it possible to tackle them more effectively, with greater account taken of the sides' interests.

The extensive spheres of such interests were revealed from the very outset. For Chinese specialists Soviet experience in producing mineral fertilizers, glass insulators, synthetic acids, construction and road building equipment, antibiotics, and hormonal and other medical preparations is very important. Their interest is also aroused by the work being carried out in our country in

the sphere of radiation technology and obtaining radionuclides, the management of standardization and metrology, the control of irrigation and drainage installations, and the mining and transportation of coal.

For their part, Soviet specialists are attracted in the PRC by techniques for producing phytochemical preparations, patent work, computer-aided railroad gravity yard automation systems, the organization of capital construction, research in the sphere of environmental protection, the modernization of the cotton industry, achievements in agriculture, and the organization of river transportation. In short, the range of mutual interests covers a considerable part of our national economic complexes.

Steps are being taken away from merely widely familiarizing representatives of science and technology in the two countries with each other's achievements toward pooling their creative efforts. Direct contacts among scientists and specialists from border regions, particularly between scientific establishments in Siberia, the Far East, and Kazakhstan and scientific centers in Heilongjiang and the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, could be productive for both sides. Soviet and Chinese organizations have exchanged specific proposals on possible topics for such cooperation, which must now be examined by the specialists themselves.

M.S. Gorbachev observed when speaking in Vladivostok that the USSR and China have similar priorities; namely, speeding up socioeconomic development. Why not support each other and cooperate in implementing plans wherever it is clearly beneficial to both parties? I think that this fully applies to cooperation in the sphere of science and technology, particularly as the priority areas of scientific and technical progress in both countries are identical.

It seems that the conditions are now ripe for establishing cooperation between Soviet and Chinese scientific establishments on a qualitatively new basis. During the third session of the Soviet-Chinese Commission on Economic, Trade, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation in June the chairman of its Soviet section, Yu.D. Maslyukov, conveyed relevant proposals to the Chinese side. They include projects in atomic energy, electrical engineering, and the creation of new light conductors and new construction materials.

The results of Soviet-Chinese scientific and technical cooperation show that both sides can jointly solve common tasks, complementing each other in so doing. However, the scale and depth of the cooperation remain limited to date. Nontraditional forms of cooperation implementing the rights granted to local organizations and departments by the well known government resolutions are not being fully utilized. I think that the upcoming Soviet Science and Technology Days in the PRC, like the reciprocal PRC event in our own country, will help boost the deepening and democratization of scientific and technical ties.

Northeast Asia

DPRK Premier's GOSR Greetings to Ryzhkov

PM1411091188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[DPRK Premier Yi Kun-mo's greetings to Ryzhkov on Soviet revolution anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

I send you comradely greetings and ardent congratulations on the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The October socialist revolution carried out by the Russian working class under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party was an outstanding historical event which ushered in the new era of transition from capitalism to socialism and showed mankind the clear way forward.

After the October revolution the Soviet people performed their revolutionary duty honorably, foiling numerous intrigues by internal and external enemies and routing armed intervention, and transformed their country into a socialist power with a developed economy and powerful defense potential.

Today the Soviet people have wholeheartedly welcomed the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference and are actively struggling to successfully promote restructuring in all spheres and accelerate the country's socioeconomic development.

We congratulate the fraternal Soviet people on their great achievements and wish them new successes in the struggle to defend peace and security throughout the world.

I take this opportunity to express the conviction that friendly Soviet-Korean relations based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism will continue to grow stronger and develop and I wish you new successes in your work.

[Signed] Yi Kun-mo, premier of the DPRK Administrative Council

PRAVDA on 'Peace-Loving' DPRK Proposals

PM1111150088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "New Initiatives"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 8 Nov—The DPRK has advanced a package of peace-loving initiatives whose realization envisages that Korea's unification will be ensured in 1995. These proposals were approved at a joint session of leading organs of the republic's state power held here.

The report on the session published today proposes the holding of tripartite talks with the participation of the DPRK, the United States, and South Korea to resolve questions of the phased withdrawal of U.S. troops and nuclear weapons from the south of the Korean peninsula and the reduction of the armed forces of the North and the South to 100,000 men by the end of 1991. It is proposed to enshrine accords on these questions in a DPRK-U.S. peace agreement and a North-South declaration of nonaggression.

To ease the acute confrontation between the DPRK and South Korea it is proposed to hold military-political talks between them, end mutual attacks on the other side's ideology and system, and cease large-scale military maneuvers, as well as any joint exercises involving foreign troops.

Confidence was expressed that high-level North-South military-political talks will have a positive impact on setting up parliamentary talks and continuing the dialogue through other channels, including in the economic sphere and between the Red Cross societies. The successful holding of tripartite and military-political talks, the reports states, will make it possible to hold a top-level North-South meeting, which will examine such basic problems as the adoption of a declaration of nonaggression and the formation of the Democratic Confederative Republic of Korea.

TASS Reports DPRK's New Peace Initiative
LD1011152288 Moscow TASS in English 1459 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 10 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent:

The DPRK's new peace initiatives stem from the striving for unification of the country, withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea, reduction of the armed forces of the north and the south and holding of tripartite negotiations between the DPRK, USA and South Korea.

The Soviet Union supports these initiative which are aimed at normalising the situation in the Korean peninsula and promoting relaxation of tension, peace and stability in the region. The Soviet Union, which consistently strives to advance the cause of all-Asia security, welcomes the DPRK'S efforts to curb militarism, to untie conflict and confrontation knots in the region.

Tripartite negotiations, proposed by Pyongyang, are called upon to settle questions linked with stage-by-stage withdrawal of American troops and nuclear weapons from the south of Korea, and reduction of the armed forces of the north and the south down to 100,000 men. The DPRK holds that the American troops should be evacuated in three stages to be completed by the end of 1991. U.S. nuclear weapons should be pulled out from the south of Korea in two stages before the end of 1990.

Realisation of these proposals would create the firm foundations for a peace agreement between the DPRK and the USA, for conclusion of a north-south nonaggression declaration.

Now that there is a nascent tendency for a north-south dialogue, the DPRK's new initiatives create conditions for further lessening of confrontation between them. It is therefore proposed to hold military-political negotiations of the sides, to stop mutual recriminations and confrontation efforts, give up major military exercises and to make the military-demarcation line between the two parts of Korea a peace zone. All that, Pyongyang believes, would open the way to a summit north-south meeting.

The DPRK's new initiatives have already led to a major response in the world. And now Washington and Seoul are expected to display a new approach to them. Moscow holds that their constructive character calls for a realistic reply.

Correspondent on Campaign for Nuclear-Free Zone
OW1011003388 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 6 Nov 88

[Text] Our correspondent in Tokyo reports as follows:

Near the exit of the Chuo Ward office in Tokyo, a bronze statue was set up a few days ago. There is a plaque on the statue, which reads: In Search of Peace for Happiness and Prosperity. This plaque symbolizes the desire of the people living there to exist in a world without war and nuclear weapons.

The Chuo Ward Assembly passed a resolution declaring the Chuo Ward a peace zone in March this year. So far, 15 of the 23 wards in Tokyo City have declared their wards peace zones. Throughout Japan, local governments of villages, towns, and cities that have made non-nuclear declarations responding to popular wishes of their residents number more than 1,200 in all.

Residents of Kanagawa Prefecture are demanding that U.S. bases in Atsugi and Yokosuka be removed from the prefecture and the Prefecture of Kanagawa be made a nuclear-free zone.

The mass media in Japan have noted the non-nuclear zone declaration movement as the most popular and aggressive form of antinuclear and antiwar campaigns. Under the slogan—Let's advance from non-nuclear zones to non-nuclear Japan—the peace lovers of Japan are pushing the movement, calling for strict observance of Japan's three non-nuclear principles. These three non-nuclear principles have actually been ignored and emasculated by the conservative party in Japan.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

PRAVDA Reports on Cambodia Talks in Paris

PM1011135388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Meetings Over"]

[Text] Paris, 9 Nov—The problems of seeking ways for a peace settlement around Cambodia were the focus of attention at a meeting between Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers and foreign minister of the PRK, and the leaders of the two opposition groupings—Prince Norodom Sihanouk and Son Sann. This meeting ended Tuesday [8 November] in the French capital's Fere-en-Tardenois suburb.

A communique has been signed on the results of the talks. In particular, it announces the creation of a working commission to study the possibilities of solving the Cambodian problem peacefully. The talks participants agreed to convene an international conference on Cambodia, the date and place of which will be determined later. The sides agreed to hold the next meeting between Hun Sen and Sihanouk and Son Sann next year.

At a news conference here, Hun Sen expressed satisfaction with the results of the meeting and noted the importance of continuing the dialogue between the Cambodian sides. The PRK Government, he said, adheres to the consistent course of national reconciliation and is taking all measures to prevent further bloodshed. He noted the possibility of including the "Khmer Rouge" in the dialogue—but on condition that they abandon the use of military force and disarm.

In the course of the meeting a PRK Government statement was circulated here urging all Cambodian sides to stop hostilities and join in national reconciliation.

The Cambodian people's right to self-determiniation must be exercised on the basis of free general elections, the statement says. The PRK proposes holding elections 3 months after the complete withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteers from Cambodia and the cessation of outside interference. The PRK advocates the preservation of the present political and military status quo in the country until these elections are held. The armed forces of each of the sides must remain in their positions and cease hostilities. The document carries a proposal for the convocation of a quadrapartite national reconciliation council headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk. This council should prepare the conditions and procedure for the elections and draft a constitution for Cambodia.

Hun Sen stated after the end of the meeting that the sides have come to realize the importance of measures aimed at creating an independent, neutral, and nonaligned Cambodia. "We," he noted, "were unanimous in assessing the prospects for the withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteers and the importance of joint actions to ensure that the 'Khmer Rouge'—Pol Pot's grouping, which is responsible for the death of millions of Cambodians—don't return to power." There are still disagreements on a range of questions, the head of the Cambodian Government said.

Cambodian Leaders' GOSR Greetings to USSR

PM1111112588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[PRK leaders' greetings to Gorbachev, Ryzhkov on Soviet revolution anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

To Comrade N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

Esteemed comrades!

On behalf of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP], the PRK State Council and Council of Ministers, and the entire Cambodian people and on our own behalf, we send you, the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the entire Soviet people the warmest sincere congratulations and best wishes on the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

We are following with great interest and a sense of satisfaction the historic and revolutionary positive transformations that are at present unfolding intensively in all spheres of the life of your great country. In 3 years—from the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum to the 19th all-union party conference—the restructuring of all aspects of life in the Soviet Union, which is based on a scientifically substantiated theory and policy, has helped to increase the socialist countries' domestic and foreign policy potential and boost the prestige of socialism and its role in world development.

Three years have elapsed, and Soviet people and the peoples of the entire world, including the Cambodian people, can say with pride that, thanks to the USSR's peace initiatives, which are imbued with the spirit of the new political thinking, the threat of war has been averted. The PRK Government invariably shares and fully supports all the Soviet Union's peace-loving proposals.

We once again state our support for M.S. Gorbachev's Vladivostok speech and the 7-point proposals put forward in Krasnoyarsk on restructuring international relations in the Asia-Pacific region.

We assess highly the current state of Cambodian-Soviet ties, which are developing steadily in all spheres, and are convinced that the bonds of fraternal friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the PRK and the

USSR will constantly strengthen and improve in the interests of our peoples. We take this opportunity on behalf of the KPRP, the PRK Government, and the Cambodian people to once again express our profound gratitude to the CPSU, the USSR Government, and the Soviet people for the comprehensive aid and support that they have offered us.

Please accept, esteemed comrades, our fraternal greeting.

Heng Samrin, general secretary of the KPRP Central Committee and chairman of the PRK State Council

Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers

PRAVDA Text of Lao Leaders' GOSR Message

PM1111131988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[Lao leaders' greetings to Gorbachev, Ryzhkov on Soviet revolution anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

To Comrade N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

On the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, on behalf of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP], the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR] Supreme People's Assembly, the LPDR Council of Ministers, and the multinational Lao people, we send warm greetings and best wishes to you and through you to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the entire fraternal Soviet people.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the birth of the world's first worker-peasant state was a most important event in the history of mankind and ushered in the era of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism.

Over the years under the leadership of the glorious CPSU, making great sacrifices and overcoming grim ordeals, the heroic Soviet people have carried out shining exploits, won victory over internal and external enemies, strengthened the gains of great October, reliably defended the motherland, and achieved tremendous successes in building socialism. The victory over fascism during World War II created favorable conditions for the formation of the world socialist system, which is continuing to grow stronger and develop. This victory helped consolidate forces in the peoples' struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress.

At present, guided by the historic decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference, the fraternal Soviet people are vigorously implementing restructuring, which should raise Soviet society to a qualitatively new level of development.

In the international arena in the spirit of the new political thinking the USSR is waging a tireless struggle to prevent nuclear war and relax tension and is broadening cooperation with other states in order to ensure that mankind enters the 21st century without nuclear weapons and violence and lives in conditions of peace and friendship.

The party, government, and people of Laos cordially salute the Soviet people's remarkable successes in building socialism, above all in restructuring, and reaffirm their complete support for the Leninist foreign policy course and the USSR's initiatives and specific steps in the struggle for peace, security, and international cooperation.

The Lao people are sincerely glad at the steady, comprehensive development of relations of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union. On behalf of the LPRP, the government, and the people of Laos, we express profound gratitude to the CPSU, the USSR Government, and the fraternal Soviet people for the firm support and tremendous effective aid given to the Lao revolution.

We express the conviction that the processes of comprehensive renewal in the LPDR and of restructuring in the USSR will help to further broaden the cooperation between our countries and boost its fruitfulness.

We wish the fraternal Soviet people new achievements in transforming the socialist society and strengthening the might of the Land of the Soviets, which is the bastion of forces of peace and social progress in our world.

May the indestructible friendship and cooperation between Laos and the Soviet Union grow stronger and flourish with every day.

Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the LPRP Central Committee and chairman of the LPDR Council of Ministers

Phoumi Vongvichit, acting president of the LPDR

Sisomphon Lovansai, acting chairman of the LPDR Supreme People's Assembly

Near East & South Asia

Baklanov, Delegation Visit Afghanistan

Delegation Departs

PM1211150188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Working Visit"]

[Excerpt] CPSU Central Committee Secretary O.D. Baklanov left for Kabul on a working visit 11 November. He will be accompanied during his trip by USSR Ministers B.M. Belousov and A.S. Systsov and a group of senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee and a number of ministries and departments.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary was seen off at the airport by G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, V.S. Shaposhnikov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, and other officials.

Sayid Murtaza [name as transliterated], Afghan charge d'affaires in the USSR, was among the send-off party. [passage omitted]

Baklanov Interviewed on Arrival

LD1111180488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 11 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video interview with Oleg Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, by correspondent M. Leshchinskiy at Kabul Airport on 11 November—recorded]

[Text] Comrade Baklanov left Moscow for Kabul today on a working visit. Accompanying him on the trip are USSR ministers Belousov and Systsov, and a group of senior workers from the CPSU Central Committee and a number of ministries and departments. He was seen off at the airport by comrade Razumovskiy and other officials. [video shows Baklanov and entourage at airport; Razumovskiy bids him farewell]

Later in the day Oleg Dmitriyevich Baklanov arrived in Kabul. [video shows Baklanov descending aircraft steps to be greeted by welcoming party]

[Correspondent M. Leshchinskiy] Oleg Dmitriyevich, the Soviet Union and Afghanistan have recently undertaken a range of measures aimed at the complete fulfillment of the Geneva agreements, including the withdrawal of Soviet troops from here by 15 February. Evidently your working visit also falls within the framework of these specific new measures.

[Baklanov] Yes, of course. I would like to add that the Soviet Union and Afghanistan are traditionally friendly states. We are neighbors and from time immemorial we have always been friends and had good interstate and international relations. We believe that the work to be done by our delegation will make a considerable contribution to the development of friendly relations between our countries in order to establish peace and justice in this big, friendly, and proud country.

[Leshchinskiy] What range of problems will be discussed during the talks?

[Baklanov] A broad range of problems—all the issues currently worrying the Afghan people, our people, and the peoples of the whole world as regards working out, let us say, the Afghan issue in line with the Geneva agreements. This is to be discussed.

[Leshchinskiy] So obviously this will include matters relating to military and economic cooperation?

[Baklanov] Yes, of course. These matters are inseparably linked with the life and peace that have to be established here so that people can work calmly in their native country and feel calm and confident.

[Leshchinskiy] Thank you and good luck over the next few days.

[Baklanov] Thank you.

Baklanov, Najibullah Hold Talks

LD1111205488 Moscow TASS in English 1956 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Kabul November 11 TASS—President Najibullah of Afghanistan met here today with Oleg Baklanov, secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, who arrived in the Afghan capital today for a working visit.

President Najibullah thanked the Soviet leadership and personally Mikhail Gorbachev for the continuous friendly attention to Afghanistan and for the firm support for efforts exerted by the Afghan Government which are aimed at stopping bloodshed and reaching national accord.

Their friendly conversation confirmed the identity of stands of the two countries on the key problems of the present-day situation, the situation in Afghanistan and around it. It was emphasized that the Geneva accords should be strictly observed by all their signatories.

Participants in the conversation discussed in detail problems connected with Soviet-Afghan cooperation, specifically, the most active putting into practice of the whole package of political, economic, social and military measures drawn up jointly by Soviet and Afghan leaders.

They were unanimous in their opinion that the reliance of the irreconcilable opposition on military methods of the solution of the domestic problems of Afghanistan led

nowhere. The only reasonable conclusion that can be drawn from the present-day situation in the country is that there is no alternative to the national reconciliation. Proceeding from this assumption, Najibullah and Baklanov discussed specific proposals aimed at using to the maximum the whole of the all-round potential of the equitable Soviet-Afghan cooperation in the interests of a political settlement and the creation in Afghanistan of a coalition goverment on a broad basis.

Baklanov Activities Noted

PM1411091588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report entitled: "On Afghan Soil"]

[Text] O.D. Baklanov, CPSU Central Committee Secretary, who is in Afghanistan on a working visit, today met Soviet airborne assault division troops, who are fulfilling their internationalist duty in the neighboring country. They spoke of how they are dealing with the responsible task of helping the Afghan Army protect the republic's capital from terrorist sorties by the irreconcilable opposition.

During his warm and comradely conversations with soldiers and officers, O.D. Baklanov conveyed to them the heartfelt greetings of the CPSU Central Committee and all Soviet people. The motherland places a high value upon their feat and awaits their homecoming with love and pride. The Soviet soldiers will return to their native soil in strict accordance with the timeframe set by the Geneva agreements. However, while the harsh day-to-day service in Afghanistan continues, Soviet soldiers are transferring their rich combat experience and training to their comrades-in-arms, the servicemen of the Afghan Army.

At the request of the servicemen, the CPSU Central Committee secretary recounted how the restructuring that gained strength after the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference is progressing in our country. Now is a time of great concrete deeds. Soon yesterday's internationalist servicemen will be going to the factories, building sites, fields, and farms. Their youthful vigor, strong hands, and will—tempered in the furnace of difficult trials—are now much needed by the fatherland.

At the headquarters of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops [LCST], LCST commander, Lieutenant-General B.V. Gromov told the CPSU Central Committee secretary of the work that must be done in the period remaining before the Soviet troop withdrawal with a view to enhancing the Afghan Armed Forces' combat capability. O.D. Baklanov drew attention to the exceptional importance of fulfiling this task to secure Afghanistan's peaceful future.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary visited guard sub-units of the Afghan Armed Forces. These are made up of courageous people, committed to the revolution, who are called upon to provide a trustworthy defense of the interests of the Afghan people and who have already proved themselves in combat operations.

In the afternoon, there was a meeting between O.D. Baklanov and M.K. Sharq, prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan. It was noted from the Soviet side that the formation of a government of Afghanistan under the leadership of the eminent, nonparty politician, M.K. Sharq, was an important step in the direction of achieving a national consensus on a broad coalition basis. The Soviet Union, stressed the CPSU Central Committee secretary, resolutely supports the policy of national reconciliation being conducted by the Afghan leadership headed by President Najibullah. O.D. Baklanov and M.K. Sharq discussed specific matters of putting the long-term plans for Soviet-Afghan economic cooperation into effect.

This evening the president of the Republic of Afghanistan gave a dinner in honor of the Soviet visitor.

Addressing those present, Najibullah stressed that important changes for the better are taking place in international life as a result of the initiative-led and peace-loving foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, a policy which is based upon the principles of the new thinking. The new thinking, he noted, corresponds to the vital needs of the day under conditions where military disaster threatens the existence of the whole of mankind and where disarmament has become the demand of the times.

The president noted that the policy of national reconciliation, which serves the specific interests of the Afghan people, is a concrete manifestation of this course under the conditions of Afghanistan. The aim of this policy is the setting up of a broad coalition that could be called a coalition of realism and wisdom. He stressed that despite wavering and doubts by people of little faith the policy of national reconciliation is already bringing tangible positive results. The national reconciliation policy ship will be able to overcome all the storms and all the reefs and reach the desired shore of national concord, the Afghan leader said.

Najibullah expressed heartfelt gratitude to the Soviet people and to M.S. Gorbachev for the firm and consistent support for the rightful cause of the Afghan people.

O.D. Baklanov conveyed to the president cordial greetings and best wishes from M.S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leadership and the whole Soviet people, a people linked to the Afghan people by long-standing ties of friendship and mutual affection.

We view our mission first and foremost as a mission of solidarity, as yet further evidence of the fact that the CPSU and the Soviet Union are firmly on the side of

their Afghan friends and wholly support their tireless efforts to restore the long-awaited peace in the country and to put an end to the fratricidal bloodshed.

We are meeting at what is a decisive time for Afghanistan. One can say that today Afghanistan has approached the point that divides the gloomy night of war from the bright day of peace.

Having declared its policy of national reconciliation, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA] indicated the way out from what would have appeared to be an unresolved armed conflict. It was a courageous and noble step. Having voluntarily given up a monopoly of power, having expressed its willingness for a coalition government to be set up on the widest basis, the PDPA proved in its deeds that for it the interests of the people are supreme over everything. The goodwill of the Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, positive changes in the position of other countries, and the deeply constructive role of the UN Organization have made it possible to carry out a breakthrough in a settlement of the situation around Afghanistan and to sign the Geneva agreements. As a result, both the internal and the external prerequisites were created for the war in Afghanistan finally to come to an end.

For their own part the governments of our countries are doing everything to transform this possibility into reality. Within the strictly agreed time-frame the strength of the Soviet military contingent was reduced by one-half. The constructive initiatives of the Afghan leadership, with President Najibullah at its head, are opening a direct path toward internal accord.

Unfortunately this has not yet been achieved. The contrast between the positions of Kabul and Peshawar is too striking. On the one hand there is goodwill and a feeling of responsibility at the highest level for the fate of the country; on the other hand there is blind irreconcilability and a course toward continuing the bloodshed to satisfy irrepressible ambitions and the thirst for power. The "concern for the well-being of the people" which the leaders of the so-called "Alliance of Seven" so love to argue about turns out in reality to be a hail of shells and missiles brought down upon peaceful Afghan homes.

Unfortunately those who signed and guaranteed the Geneva agreements together with ourselves are not only failing to prevent this criminal activity but on the contrary are encouraging it in every way. When the Soviet Union, striving to prevent a further rampage of terror, under its accord with the Republic of Afghanistan undertook a number of legitimate defensive measures in response, it raised the cry: "Stop thief!" An unseemly device, and not a new one. Let those who are hindering national accord know that the Armed Forces of Afghanistan will be given the help necessary to reliably defend the peaceful population of the country against barbarous encroachments.

Nevertheless we believe that good sense will gain the upper hand both in Peshawar, Islamabad, and in Washington, the Soviet visitor said. For there is simply no alternative to national accord. The problems of Afghanistan can only be solved by peaceful means. The UN General Assembly—the most representative forum of the international community—recently confirmed this with the utmost certainty, having adopted a resolution on Afghanistan by consensus.

In this connection, he continued, one must not fail to notice another important aspect of the Afghan settlement. As M.S. Gorbachev has stressed, a peaceful, just solution to the Afghan problem will exert a deep, constructive influence upon surmounting other regional conflicts, too, which give rise to suffering, alarm, and anxiety for millions of people.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary gave assurances that the Afghan people will always feel the reliable shoulder of their Soviet friend in their noble struggle for a peaceful, developing, independent, nonaligned and neutral Afghanistan.

Present with O.P. Baklanov at the dinner were Soviet officials accompanying him on the trip, and Yu.M. Vorontsov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR and USSR ambassador in the Republic of Afghanistan.

Baklanov Departs Kabul

LD1311202988 Moscow TASS in English 1854 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Text] Kabul November 13 TASS—Ending his working visit to Afghanistan, Oleg Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited the Jangalak plant, the only Afghan enterprise repairing cars and engines. The plant is being modernized with Soviet technological assistance.

After that, Baklanov paid a visit to the Soviet military hospital in Kabul.

The same day he had his final conversation with President Najibullah. The sides expressed mutual satisfaction with the visit's results and the agreements reached during meetings and talks.

The Afghan president emphasized his government's commitment to a political settlement of Afghan internal problems and confirmed its intention to take resolute actions against those who prefer war to peace negotiations. This stance was fully supported by the Soviet delegation.

The sides confirmed that the Soviet Union and Afghanistan would continue to strengthen Soviet-Afghan friendship and cooperation in every possible way.

"My talks with President Najibullah, Prime Minister Muhammad Hasan Sharq and other Afghan leaders has again shown the identity of the two countries' stances on the key problems of today," Baklanov told journalists before departure.

"We were unanimous in the opinion," he went on to say, "that the Geneva accords should be strictly complied with by all the parties. The Soviet side has reaffirmed its invariable support for the Afghan Government's efforts to implement the national reconciliation policy and end the fratricidal war. During the talks, we coordinated some additional steps aimed at deepening Soviet-Afghan cooperation in various fields," Baklanov said.

He returned to Moscow later that day.

Text of Afghan Leaders' GOSR Greetings

PM1111133188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[Afghan leaders' greetings to Gorbachev, Ryzhkov on Soviet revolution anniversary]

[Text] To His Excellency M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

To His Excellency Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

We are delighted to convey to you, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the government and people of the Soviet Union warm and sincere congratulations on behalf of the Republic of Afghanistan's people and government and on our own behalf on the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The Great October Socialist Revolution is a very great event in the history of mankind and initiated profound radical changes in the interests of the millions-strong working masses.

The Land of the Soviets that arose as a result of the October revolution has become a firm and reliable pillar of peace, progress, and freedom. The decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which are of tremendous historical importance, were a great achievement for the Soviet people. The restructuring under way in all spheres of the life of Soviet society and also in the country's foreign policy on the basis of the new political thinking with a view to improving international relations, settling regional conflicts by political means, and securing disarmament and in the struggle for a nuclear weapon-free world, peace, security, and cooperation in international affairs is enjoying growing support from the peoples of the world, including the people of our country.

We are completely convinced that the traditional friendship and comprehensive cooperation between our countries, states, and peoples, friendship and cooperation based on the Treaty on Friendship, Good-Neighborliness, and Cooperation between our two countries, which is a clear expression of the principles of fraternity and mutually advantageous cooperation, will continue to grow stronger in the interests of both countries' peoples and for the good of the cause of ensuring peace and security in the region and throughout the world.

The people and Government of the Republic of Afghanistan are profoundly grateful to the friendly people of the Soviet Union for their comprehensive aid in developing the national economy and culture of our country—free, independent, and nonaligned Afghanistan.

We note with delight that in the existing conditions, when the people and Government of the Republic of Afghanistan are patiently and courageously implementing the national reconciliation policy in conjunction with the promotion of new initiatives aimed at stopping the war and bloodshed and ensuring peace throughout the country, the Soviet Union, as well as offering direct assistance on a bilateral basis, is offering aid totaling $600 million under the UN humanitarian aid program. Thus favorable opportunities are being created for providing returning Afghan refugees with amenities and restoring the Afghan national economy. We want to assure you that our people are preserving and strengthening their traditional friendship and comprehensive cooperation with their great northern neighbor—the Soviet Union.

We are grateful to the Soviet Union for its support for the national reconciliation policy in the Republic of Afghanistan and we value highly the efforts made by your country to fulfill the Geneva agreements to ensure peace on Afghan territory.

In light of the national reconciliation policy, the Republic of Afghanistan is continuing to make comprehensive efforts to ensure a lasting peace in the country and create a government on a broad social basis acceptable to all the relevant sides.

We take this opportunity to wish you, dear friends, good health, and to wish the friendly Soviet Union further successes in ensuring peace and security on earth.

Najibullah, general secretary of the PDPA and president of the Republic of Afghanistan

Doctor Muhammad Hasan Sharq, prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan

Afghan Ambassador to Soviet Union Replaced

Former Envoy Departs

PM1211143188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Mohammadollah Safi, Afghan ambassador to the USSR, left Moscow 10 November.

New Afghan Envoy Arrives

PM1211171588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] Sayyed Muhammad Gulabzoy, ambassador of the Republic of Afghanistan to the USSR, has arrived in Moscow.

Bessmertnykh in Iran To Discuss Bilateral Issues

LD1011164588 Tehran Television Service in Persian 1600 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, arrived in Tehran at the invitation of his Iranian counterpart. Upon his arrival in Tehran, talking about the aims of his trip, he said:

[Begin Bessmertnykh recording in Russian with announcer's superimposed Persian summation] During this trip, regional issues of interest to both countries, as well as the international situation will be discussed. Continuing his remarks the Soviet first deputy foreign minister said: There have been many discussions in Moscow and Tehran about the bases of bilateral relations. Now the time has come to start discussions between the two countries about these relations.

Mr Larijani, the deputy minister of foreign affairs in charge of European and U.S. affairs, in an interview expressed his hope that during this trip the issues of interest to the two countries, both regarding bilateral relations and regional and international issues, will be discussed. [end recording]

TASS Details Activities

LD1311134988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1244 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Text] Tehran, 13 Nov (TASS)—USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister A.A. Bessmertnykh visited Tehran 10-13 November at the invitation of the Iranian side. He was received by 'A.A. Hashemi-Rafsanjani, commander in chief of the Islamic Consultative Assembly (parliament) [title as received]. He held talks with acting Foreign Minister A.M. Besharati, Economy and Finance Minister M.D. Iravani, and Deputy Foreign Minister M.D. Larijani.

In the course of the meetings and talks a thorough exchange of opinions took place on a wide circle of questions of mutual interest. A discussion was held on bilateral links, including prospects for economic cooperation, which was based on specific facts and which proceeded from the viewpoint of the opportunities opening up for stable long-term interaction. The sides noted with satisfaction that political contacts on the state level, primarily between the two countries' foreign ministers, have been developing successfully.

Particular attention was paid to questions concerning a political settlement between Iran and Iraq within the context of UN Security Council Resolution 598. The Soviet side stressed the importance of the negotiations between Iran and Iraq under the aegis of the UN secretary general and expressed the hope that they will continue and be completed successfully.

During the meetings and talks in Tehran, considerable time was devoted to the discussion in specific terms of questions concerning the Afghan settlement. On our side, it was stressed that the Soviet Union and Afghanistan are operating in complete accordance with the letter and spirit of the Geneva accords. The same cannot be said of the other countries that signed these agreements. The conviction was expressed that Iran, too, could use the opportunities at its disposal to give assistance to the cause of normalizing the situation in and around Afghanistan. A mutual understanding was achieved that consultations on issues concerning Afghanistan will be continued.

An agreement was signed providing, among other things, for the opening of correspondents' offices in Tehran and Moscow.

The sides emphasized the growing importance of political dialogue across the spectrum of international problems and bilateral links. They agreed to take steps to impart a more stable and regular character to this dialogue.

Yu.K. Alekseyev, head of the Middle Eastern Countries Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry, took part in the talks.

Iranian President's Message on GOSR

PM1111150788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[Iranian President Khamene'i's greetings to Gorbachev on Soviet revolution anniversary]

[Text] To His Excellency Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

I congratulate Your Excellency and the government and people of the Soviet Union on the anniversary of the October revolution. I would once again like to express

my interest in deepening relations between our two countries—the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Soviet Union. Together with my good wishes I ask the Most High for happiness and prosperity for the Soviet people.

Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, president of Iran

Iranian Premier Greets Ryzhkov on GOSR

PM1111151388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
9 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Iranian premier's greetings to Ryzhkov on Soviet revolution anniversary]

[Text] To His Excellency Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

I congratulate Your Excellency and the Soviet Government on the anniversary of the revolution.

I hope that the goodneighborly relations and cooperation between our two neighboring countries will be further developed.

Mir Hoseyn Musavi, prime minister of Iran

IZVESTIYA Carries 'Arafat Anniversary Message

PM1211180388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[PLO leader 'Arafat greetings to Gorbachev on Soviet revolution anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committtee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Revolutionary greetings,

I am glad to convey to you, dear Comrade Gorbachev and, through you, to your combative party, esteemed government, and the friendly people of the Soviet Union the ardent, cordial congratulations and sincere wishes for happiness of our Palestinian people, my brother members of the PLO Executive Committee, and myself personally on the occasion of the celebration of the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. We wish the USSR further success, progress, and prosperity under your wise and responsive leadership.

The victory of the glorious October revolution was a victory for all the peoples and progressive liberation forces in the world. It has afforded them great support in their struggle for freedom and national independence. Seventy-one years after the revolution's victory your friendly people, full of self-confidence and firm will, are advancing along the path of strengthening socialism and the path of progress, economic development, and social prosperity. We are deeply confident that, thanks to your farsighted and wise policy, these transformations will be attended by success.

I would like to express again to you on this glorious occasion our deep gratitude and exceptionally high regard for the firm and principled support and combative, comradely solidarity which your friendly country, party, government, and people show for the just struggle of our people and their heroic uprising and steadfastness in the occupied territories and beyond. This struggle enjoys the full support and solidarity of all friendly and fraternal peoples and states, particularly the peoples and states of the socialist community and all peace-loving and freedom-loving forces. It is being waged to free our homeland, to end the occupation, and to restore and exercise our inalienable national rights, including the right of return, self-determination, and the creation of our own independent state.

We are convinced that your help and support for the idea of convening an international conference on the Near East strengthen the prerequisites necessary for achieving a peace based on justice in the region and intensify our people's resolve to advance along the path toward exercising our rights to freedom, independence, and national sovereignty.

Expressing great pride in and enormous satisfaction at the constant development of our relations of friendship, cooperation, and solidarity based on respect and mutual trust between our Palestinian revolution and the October revolution, between the PLO and your friendly government, and between our friendly peoples, the fighting Palestinian people confirm with sincere resolve that those bonds of comradeship and solidarity will coontinue to strengthen and that the horizons and scale of those relations and cooperation in the interests of progress, prosperity, and a just worldwide peace will continue to expand.

In conveying our cordial greetings, I wish you good health, great happiness, and enormous success in leading your combative party and the peoples of the friendly USSR to implement your supreme national tasks and attain the goals of development, progress, economic prosperity, and social well-being.

With love and gratitude to you, dear friend of our people and our revolution.

The revolution through to victory!

Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and commander in chief of the Palestinian Revolutionary Armed Forces

Text of Iraqi President's GOSR Greetings

PM1111151188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[Iraqi President Husayn's greetings to Gorbachev, Ryzhkov on Soviet revolution anniversary]

[Text] To Mr M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

To Mr N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

On the 71st anniversary of the October revolution I am delighted to convey to you and the friendly Soviet people the warmest congratulations and best wishes from myself personally and on behalf of my comrades in the leadership and the Iraqi people.

We take this opportunity to once again confirm our desire to strengthen the relations of friendship and cooperation between Iraq and the Soviet Union, which are based on the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation, which accords with the interests of our peoples and contributes to the cause of ensuring a just peace, security, and stability in our region and in the world.

We wish you health and happiness and we wish the friendly Soviet people further progress and prosperity.

Saddam Husayn, chairman of the Revolution Command Council and president of Iraq

Text of Syrian President's GOSR Message

PM1111142988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[Syrian leader Al-Asad's greetings to Gorbachev on Soviet revolution anniversary]

[Text] To the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Dear comrade,

On the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution I am glad to send you, all the members of the CPSU Central Committee, and the friendly Soviet people the most sincere congratulations on behalf of the Syrian people, myself personally, and the leadership of the Ba'th Party.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was an outstanding event and a shining landmark in the history of the Soviet Union and the working class throughout the world. The Soviet Union has become a great power that supports the peoples' struggle for national liberation and affirms peace and justice, thus having a profound effect on all world development.

The ties between the Ba'th Party and the CPSU, which are developing fruitfully, have helped strengthen the relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries, which are based on the common principles in which we believe and for which we are fighting together. Soviet-Syrian relations have stood the test of time and have grown firmer and stronger despite attempts by hostile forces to impair them.

On behalf of the Syrian Arab Republic, we wish the friendly Soviet people new successes and achievements under your leadership.

I take this opportunity to convey to you, Esteemed Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, best wishes for health and happiness.

Hafiz al-Asad, general secretary of the Ba'th Party and president of Syria

Egyptian President Mubarak's GOSR Greetings

PM1111131388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[Greetings message to Gorbachev from Egyptian President Mubarak under the general heading "Congratulations to the Land of the Soviets"]

[Text] To His Excellency Mikhail S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

On the anniversary of the October socialist revolution I am happy to send your excellency and the friendly peoples of the Soviet Union the most sincere and cordial congratulations. I wish you further successes in your creative activity for the good of your country and for the sake of strengthening the course of establishing peace and international security.

With best wishes and respect,

Muhammad Husni Mubarak

Sub-Saharan Africa

Angola's Dos Santos Sends GOSR Message

PM1111140188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[Angolan leader Dos Santos' greetings to Gorbachev on Soviet revolution anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Esteemed comrade!

On behalf of the Angolan people, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA-PT] Central Committee, the National Assembly, the Angolan Government, and on my own behalf, I have the honor to ardently and fraternally congratulate you and through you the Soviet people, the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Government on the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

On this day of historic importance for mankind, it is especially pleasant for us to celebrate the heroic exploit of Russia's workers and peasants under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, headed by that genius and leader of the world proletariat Vladimir Ilich Lenin. This initiated a new path of social development and the world correlation of forces changed significantly in favor of peace and social progress. Since then Soviet society has undergone profound changes aimed at ensuring prosperity and social justice for everyone.

We are following with particular interest the progress of the current restructuring of society and welcome the success that the Soviet people and the CPSU have achieved in the practical application of Lenin's principles in the process of democratization and satisfying the growing material and spiritual requirements of the country's broad working masses.

I express the conviction that the restructuring and policy of glasnost being implemented in the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and the policy of financial and economic recovery being implemented by the Angolan people, on the other, will make it possible to create new conditions for boosting the effectiveness of the cooperation between our parties and governments for the common good of our peoples and for the sake of strengthening peace and socialism throughout the world.

I wish you, Esteemed Comrade Chairman, good health, personal well-being, success in implementing the course of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, and new successes in building socialism.

With respect,

Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-PT and president of Angola

Ethiopia's Mengistu Greets USSR on Revolution

PM1111141988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[Ethiopian leader Mengistu Haile Mariam's greetings to Gorbachev on Soviet revolution anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

On behalf of the Workers Party of Ethiopia [WPE] Central Committee and the government and people of Ethiopia, and also on my own behalf, I am most delighted to send you and through you personally the CPSU Central Committee, the government, and fraternal people of the Soviet Union the most ardent congratulations on the joyous event marking the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Thinking about those unforgettable days of 1917 which ushered in a new era of social progress, we experience a profound sense of pride at the truly remarkable progressive changes that have transformed the lives of millions of people throughout the world.

Over a period of 71 years the people of the Soviet Union have built a society of freedom, peace, and progress. It is thanks to the development and implementation of the ideas of Leninism and the October revolution that the Soviet Union has achieved at present an even higher level of development in all spheres of public life. Its outstanding achievements have transformed the Soviet Union into a great power and a real bastion of peace and security in the world.

Without the victory of the October revolution it would not have been possible to build up liberation movements and liberate millions of people from the yoke of colonialism and exploitation. The October revolution is still a mighty force for freedom and human dignity.

The October revolution is of particular significance for the people of Ethiopia not only owing to the far-reaching changes that is has brought about throughout the world but also owing to its historic contribution to the victory of the Ethiopian revolution.

On the occasion of this historic event, I want to confirm our firm conviction that the lasting ties of friendship and comprehensive cooperation that characterize relations between our two countries, governments, and peoples will consistently strengthen and deepen in the future.

I would also like to take this opportunity to express my best wishes for your well-being and also for the further progress and prosperity of the fraternal Soviet people.

Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the WPE Central Committee, president of Ethiopia, and commander in chief of the Revolutionary Armed Forces

East Europe

Yakovlev Visits Hungary, Czechoslovakia

Departs for Budapest

LD0911204088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, left Moscow today on working visits to Budapest and Prague at the invitation of the MSZMP and the CPCZ.

He was seen off at the airport by Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and by party Central Comittee officials. The same day comrade Yakovlev arrived in Budapest.

Yakovlev, Grosz Hold Talks

PM1111120188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Meetings in Budapest"]

[Text] Budapest, 10 Nov (TASS)—On 10 November in Budapest, a meeting was held between K. Grosz, MSZMP general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers, and A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Hungarian leader talked in detail about the country's situation and the activities of Hungarian Communists directed at radically renewing socialist society and extensively rallying all of the nation's progressive forces for this purpose. He stressed that stabilizing the economic situation and creating the conditions for the development of positive processes requires an increase in the party's efforts and decisive action. While carrying out this work, the MSZMP is following with lively interest the transformations occurring in the USSR and unconditionally supports the policy of restructuring, the importance of which extends far beyond the borders of the Land of the Soviets.

Speaking about the main guidelines for the CPSU's activities, A.N. Yakovlev spoke in detail of the party's practical deeds intended to promote the development of the broad creative activities of the working people and their active involvement in restructuring and in the implementation of profound reforms in politics and economics.

During the conversation, the comradely solidarity of Soviet and Hungarian Communists, their sincere interest in each other's successes, and the mutual striving to take the cooperation between the two parties and countries to a qualitatively new level were stressed. A firm basis for this is created by the harmony of approaches toward principal questions of the renewal of socialism, which was expressed in the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the All-Hungarian MSZMP Conference. One of the main conditions spotlighted for deepening Soviet-Hungarian cooperation is the creation, taking into consideration the reforms being carried out in the Soviet Union and Hungary, of a new mechanism for national economic ties, the further development of which meets the current and long-term interests of the two countries. The significance was noted of the joint development of the theory of socialist construction, of the interpretation of the experience, accumulated by world socialism, and of the extension of businesslike links between the scientific and creative intelligensias of the USSR and the Hungarian People's Republic. Bringing into effect a comprehensive program for improving ideological cooperation between theCPSU and the MSZMP will facilitate this.

In the discussion of topical international problems, the determination to strengthen cooperation between the two parties and countries in the interests of achieving a genuine change in world and European affairs in the spirit of the political new thinking was confirmed.

The meeting took place in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding, characteristic of relations between the CPSU and the MSZMP. Janos Berecz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Matyas Szuros, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; and B.I. Stukalin, USSR ambassador to the Hungarian People's Republic, took part in the talks.

On the same day in the MSZMP Central Committee building, a comprehensive program for improving ideological cooperation between the CPSU and the MSZMP was signed. A.N. Yakovlev and J. Berecz signed the document.

Visits Budapest Factory

LD1111231988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 11 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, visited the MMG Automation works in Budapest today. The enterprise was founded in the first year of this century. Over the past 3 decades it has been completely reequipped and is now oriented toward creating the most up-to-date products. These include integrated circuits, automatic systems and instruments. MMG Automation's biggest orders come from the Soviet Union: they supply equipment to oil and gas workers in Western Siberia.

Comrade Yakovlev was interested to find out how effective the transfer to direct production contacts with our enterprises has been and what advantages the works have gained from obtaining independence in foreign trade. The answer was as follows: Both sides win. Delivery schedules are met more precisely and the two sides take a more strict approach to quality. Seven million Soviet cars made at the Tolyatti motor vehicle works are fitted with Hungarian instruments. The new Samara dashboard, which goes into production here in January next year, will provide the driver with 15 kinds of information.

During the visit to the demonstration hall of the Novotrade association a broad range of electronic equipment was shown. Thanks to the efforts of Novotrade, which comprises 93 enterprises, cooperatives and banks, this equipment is making rapid inroads into industry and agriculture and is becoming more and more accessible to people with an interest in computers and programming. Comrade Yakovlev's attention was particularly drawn to

the recently concluded treaty on cooperation between Novotrade and Soviet firms. [video shows Yakovlev touring a factory, inspecting a variety of electronic items]

Also today Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev had a meeting with MSZMP President Janos Kadar. Their conversation touched on topical matters concerning cooperation between our countries and the development of contacts between the CPSU and the MSZMP. The meeting passed in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and cordiality. [video shows Yakovlev and Kadar in discussion]

Confers With Janos Kadar

PM1211152588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting Held"]

[Text] Budapest, 11 Nov—J. Kadar, chairman of the MSZMP, met today with A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is in Budapest on a working visit.

During their conversation, which was held in a sincere, comradely atmosphere, the strengthening and development of cooperation between the CPSU and the MSZMP on the basis of equal rights, independence, internationalist solidarity, and common responsibility was noted with satisfaction. It was stressed that cooperation has in recent years increased its range and enriched its content.

J. Berecz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, and B.I. Stukalin, USSR ambassador to Hungary, took part in the meeting.

Visits Hungarian Combine

LD1211225788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Today is the 4th day of Comrade Yakovlev's visit to Hungary.

[Correspondent Ye. Shirokov, identified by screen caption] Today Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev visited an agricultural combine in Babolna. This mixed farm provides a convincing example of what high results can be achieved using, on a socialist basis, advanced scientific methods and progressive technology. At the beginning of the seventies an industrial method of cultivating corn was developed in Babolna and then introduced throughout Hungary. It was the famous IKR system. It is applied in many countries, including the Soviet Union. No less effective is the industrial method of producing eggs and broiler chicks developed in Babolna. In our country Hungarian specialists have built and fitted out five complete poultry factories. The last of them, the largest, has begun operating in Azerbaijan. The leaders of the combine, showing Comrade Yakovlev the organization of various links in the production chain and their economic strategy, stressed the possibility of expanding cooperation between Hungarian and Soviet specialists for accomplishing the tasks of intensifying agricultural production in both countries.

Yet 200 years ago the glory of Babolna was beginning in quite a different field: raising horses, fulfilling the constant orders of the Hungarian Hussar regiments, was the only industry of the farm located here. In memory of those times, today guests are shown a short show. By the way, they haven't forgotten about raising horses. Placed on a new, again scientific basis, it has become one of the additional sources of income. The famous Babolna trotters, which win many international prizes, are known throughout the world.

Comrade Yakovlev today also visited Esztergom, a town on the Danube which preserves the memory of major historical events, rich in cultural monuments. The most treasured of them is this basilica which was built over the course of 40 years. Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev met the head of the Hungarian Catholic Church, Cardinal Laszlo Paskai. Their conversation was of mutual interest and substantive. [video shows Yakovlev at a meeting, being shown around the farm, watching horse show and visiting horse exhibits, shots of basilica, meeting with cardinal]

[Announcer] Comrade Yakovlev's working visit to the Hungarian people's republic ended today. A joint communique was adopted on the results of the visit which will be published in the press.

Ends Visit to Hungary

LD1211170888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Text] The working visit to Hungary by Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has ended. He was there at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

Comrade Yakovlev had a meeting with Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Hungary, and Janos Kadar, party chairman. There were talks with Janos Berecz, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo, with Matyas Szuros, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, and other Hungarian leaders.

A comprehensive program was signed during the visit for improving ideological cooperation between the CPSU and MSZMP. A joint communique was adopted on the results of the working visit, the text of which will be published in the press.

Communique Issued

PM1411100188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In an Atmosphere of Comradely Trust"]

[Text] The working visit to the Hungarian People's Republic by Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who has been here at the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee, has come to an end.

Aleksandr Yakovlev held meetings and talks with Karoly Grosz, secretary general of the MSZMP and chairman of the Hungarian People's Republic Council of Ministers, and Janos Kadar, chairman of the MSZMP. Talks were held with Janos Berecz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Matyas Szuros, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Miklos Nemeth, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; and Lenard Pal, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee.

During the visit an integral program for improving ideological cooperation between the CPSU and the MSZMP was signed. The document reflects matters relating to the renewal of socialism, the role of property relations in socialism, the significance of the new functions of the party in a society under the crucial conditions of restructuring, and the new quality of ideological cooperation.

A joint communique was adopted on the results of the working visit. It says:

The representatives of the CPSU and MSZMP noted that the aim of the two parties is to renew all aspects of socialist society's life, and to completely open up its creative potential. All-embracing and profound reforms are being made to this end, aimed at a fundamental restructuring of the political and economic structures that had previously been formed and at ensuring the all-around development of democracy and glasnost, social justice, and humanism. The transformations being implemented in the socialist countries will contribute to a fuller opening up of the social capabilities of socialism and the growth of its international authority. Their joint interest in the successful continuation of the processes of restructuring and the all-around renewal of socialism that are going on in Hungary and in the Soviet Union was expressed.

It was stressed that the CPSU and the MSZMP determine their policy independently and bear the responsibility for their actions first and foremost before their own peoples. At the same time, it was agreed that world development and new processes in the construction of socialism demand creative efforts by each party along with a deepening of their comradely cooperation, a comparison [sopostavleniye] of their views, and a joint Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the situation.

It was stated with satisfaction that over the years, cooperation between the CPSU and the MSZMP had been raised to a qualitatively new level and broadened based on the principles of independence, equality of rights, internationalist solidarity, and mutual responsibility. It was stressed that bilateral ties, particularly in the economic sphere, still contain considerable reserves whose fuller utilization would promote the resolution of the social and political tasks defined at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the All-Hungarian MSZMP Conference. The desire was expressed for an effective and regular exchange of experience to be held on the most important questions of the construction of socialism; the further improvement of the activity of the party as the political vanguard of society; the link between politics and economics; property relationships in a socialist society which is renewing itself; the formation of a socialist, law-governed state; the functioning of a socialist society in which there is a multiplicity of interests; and the provision of an ideological basis for these problems.

Proceeding from the principles of the Leninist nationalities policy, the CPSU and the MSZMP will continue to favorably examine humanitarian issues concerning Soviet citizens of Hungarian nationality living in Transcarpathia in the interests of preserving their national character, developing their culture and their language, and creating favorable conditions for visits by relations in both directions and for tourist and private trips to the Hungarian People's Republic. This equally applies to individuals who have moved from the USSR to the Hungarian People's Republic to take up permanent residence.

The CPSU and MSZMP will continue to cooperate in researching the development of modern capitalism, first and foremost the processes of West European integration and new phenomena in the world economy, and they will expand their cooperation in the study of new trends in relations between the two world systems, and in comprehensively developing a concept of new foreign policy thinking.

In their discussion of international questions, a unity of views and positions was expressed on the basic problems of world politics. The CPSU and MSZMP regard the prevention of nuclear war, the preservation of peace, and the strengthening of international security as the most important task. The significance of new thinking was stressed, at the center of which stand the universal values of mankind and the preservation of the environment of human life. The coordinated steps of the socialist countries and the initiatives of each one of them—separately and jointly—are strengthening the influence of socialism on the state of international relations, are strengthening the positive processes, and are contributing to the creation of an all-embracing system of international security and mutually advantageous cooperation.

The CPSU and the MSZMP attach great importance to the creation of a "common European home", which requires the observation and implementation of the principles of the UN Charter and the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. Along with the development of the traditional interstate cooperation, this aim is served by the new bilateral and multilateral interparliamentary, interparty, and public links. In the approach to these issues, all interested states must display goodwill, flexibility, and a willingness to cooperate based upon reciprocal responsibility.

Interstate cooperation on human rights and humanitarian issues, which is of special significance in the all-European process, is possible given a considered and constructive approach by every government and country based upon historical and national special features.

The sides attach great importance to promoting, in close, comradely cooperation, the search for modern replies to topical theoretical and practical questions of the international Communist and workers' movement. Both parties are striving toward the further development of links with the socialist and social-democratic parties and organizations and with any parties, movements, and political figures who are willing to take part in constructive cooperation.

The visit by A. Yakovlev to the Hungarian People's Republic took place in an atmosphere of comradely trust, sincerity, and mutual understanding. A fundamental unity of views and a joint approach was brought out on all issues discussed, the communique stressed in conclusion.

A.N. Yakovlev visited one of the country's largest enterprises—the "MMG-Avtomatika" Combine, which produces modern electric measuring devices, automatic systems, civil engineering equipment, and gages. "MMG-Avtomatika" supplies the Soviet Union with various types of equipment for oil extraction and remote control systems. The talks with the leaders of the enterprises raised the questions of radically accelerating the economic reform, seeking new forms of cooperation with Soviet partners, and concentrating efforts on the broader implementation of the potential of socialist economic integration.

The effective introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, the deepening of specialization and production sharing, the expansion of independence, and the introduction of economic accountability [khozraschet]—these and other issues were the main subjects at A.N. Yakovlev's meeting with the leaders of the "Novotred" joint-stock company. Its sphere of activity is wide-ranging—from importing and marketing computers and computer equipment in Hungary to exporting Hungarian licenses in the biotechnology sphere.

The Hungarian enterprise chiefs unanimously stressed that they anticipate the greatest effect from direct ties with Soviet enterprises.

A.N. Yakovlev visited the agricultural combine in Babolna—the flagship of Hungarian agricultural production. For many years now its collective has been successfully developing and introducing modern industrial production methods of corn production, poultry farming, and hog raising. The Soviet Union is one of the Babolna combine's major partners.

At a meeting with the leadership and members of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry party committee there was a detailed discussion on the enterprising nature of the socialist community's coordinated foreign policy, the enhancement of socialism's international prestige, the importance of safeguarding international security on the basis of the concept of new political thinking, and the prospects for Soviet-Hungarian collaboration.

During a meeting with eminent representatives of Hungarian science and culture, questions of the intelligentsia's role in implementing the fundamental transformations taking place in the two countries and expanding professional contacts between Soviet and Hungarian scientific and cultural figures were touched on.

During a visit to the historic town of Esztergom there was a meeting with Cardinal L. Paskay, head of the Hungarian Catholic Church.

A.N. Yakovlev and J. Berecz spoke at a press conference for Hungarian and foreign journalists.

Budapest TV Interviews Yakovlev

LD1311220288 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 13 Nov 88

[From "The Week" program; interview with Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, by unidentified correspondent; date, place not given—recorded; Yakovlev comments in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Text] [Announcer] Aleksandr Yakovlev visited our country this week at the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee. He held talks with party leaders and with foreign affairs officials, and he held a news conference. At the end of his visit, not only did he hold an exchange of views with Laszlo Paskai, but he also invited the cardinal to visit Sub-Carpathia in the USSR. The world is turning about, and to what an extent! This is one of the topics of the interview Yakovlev gave to "The Week."

[Correspondent] Aleksandr Nikolayevich, if there were a popularity index in the Soviet Union, in your opinion what evaluation would the current leadership get from the man on the street?

[Yakovlev] Well, it would be very difficult to say. I would not like to try to make a guess. However, I definitely would like to mention that the CPSU Central Committee continues to receive an enormous amount—several hundreds of thousands—of letters in which the citizens assure us of firm support for restructuring. That is a fact. I am of the opinion that a large majority of the Soviet population is on our side.

[Correspondent] People's fronts have been formed in the Baltic republics. In Russia the organization called Pamyat, or Remembrance, has become a mass movement.

[Yakovlev] Look, you have mentioned organizations that are very different from one another. At present, at least 5,000 spontaneous groupings similar to these exist in the Soviet Union, and we view them as manifestations of the citizens' ability to take the initiative. In brief, we assess their appearance positively, because otherwise how could the differing interests and views of the various social groups be expressed? One of the functions of socialism is to ensure a harmony of differing interests, a unity of diversity [a valtozatossag egyseget], or a pluralism of views.

In my judgment, the idea of forming Pamyat can also be viewed as a normal matter; the objectives that the founders set themselves at the time of the organization's creation are acceptable to us—indeed we could say that they are noble. I am thinking, here, of the fostering of traditions, of protecting objects of historical value, of protecting the natural environment, of the struggle against drinking. What is there to find fault with in all this? We by all means must support this.

Of course, it is another issue that a small Moscow grouping which has proclaimed itself to be the leadership of Pamyat has, almost entirely, stepped onto a chauvinistic path. There, the advocates of this so-called Great Russian chauvinism, (?of) contention between the nations, have come to the forefront. Well, it is a disgusting thing for which I think there is no place in a normal society calling itself civilized.

We cannot accept nationalism in any form of appearance. With regard to the manifestations of national feeling—yes, that is different; we welcome it, we must support it, we must allow it a broad scope, and we definitely must take note of it. However, we resolutely condemn nationalism when one nation is opposed to the other, when malice, contention—or heaven forbid—national arrogance raises its head. All this is unacceptable for a civilized society, for civilized people.

[Correspondent] From time to time, there are reports that there are differences of view between the Soviet Union's leaders. I am sure that you have heard of them. Is the opinion of the Soviet leaders uniform regarding restructuring and the future of the reforms?

[Yakovlev] Well, you know, I am informed on all this, for the most part, from the foreign press. My opinion—and I believe that I am not alone in this—is as follows: The Soviet leadership professes absolutely uniform views with regard to the principled issues of restructuring. I might point out that not even the smallest doubts arise between us, neither with regard to the necessity of the reforms, nor with regard to our long-term objectives. Sometimes there are people who believe that any standpoint that differs from the viewpoint of others can be viewed as opposition. However, it is nonsense to think in this way in a democratic country, in a democratic party.

It is natural that diverging standpoints may take shape during the discussion of various issues. These must be accepted and not suppressed since a pluralism of opinions is a very positive phenomenon and not at all a negative one. Otherwise how could we find the optimal solution, if not in the course of debates, exchanges of views? And how could we then talk about collective leadership, about a collective working out of a solution to the problems, and so forth? In my view, those who try to present debates as a conflict of interests and the voicing of opinions as rupture are struggling with a confusion of concepts. Properly speaking, all this is an empty beating of words about which it is not worthwhile paying special attention, and we do not do that in Moscow.

[Correspondent] Is the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan to continue, and will it be completed by 15 February as you previously announced?

[Yakovlev] Insofar as others precisely observe the Geneva agreements, I can assure you: We shall abide by them rigorously.

[Correspondent] Do you view it as possible that Mikhail Gorbachev may travel to the Chinese capital in the first half of 1989? There is now speculation on this in the world press.

[Yakovlev] Well, we have not yet held specific talks on a possible Soviet-Chinese summit meeting. The Soviet Union welcomes any measure that points in the direction of a normalization of the relationship. I believe that it is entirely clear to both sides: relations definitely must be improved between the two neighboring socialist states.

Meets Slovak Leaders in CSSR

LD1311101488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0915 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Text] Bratislava, 13 Nov (TASS)—Aleksandr Yakovlev, Politburo Member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, who is in the CSSR on a working visit at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee, has met with the leaders of Slovakia's Communist Party Central Committee. Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL

Central Committee, spoke of how the Slovakia's Communists are implementing a program to restructure the economy, deepen socialist democracy and invigorate the party organizations' activity

A.N. Yakovlev emphasized the significance of restructuring for Soviet society and the fate of socialism. Revolutionary transformations are taking place in the Soviet Union in the masses' interests through their labor and creative activity. The conversation noted the importance of cooperation between the USSR and Czechoslovakia.

Defense Minister on Official Visit to SFRY

Yazov Departs for Yugoslavia

PM1411133188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Belgrade Visit"]

[Text] On 13 November Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, left Moscow for Belgrade on an official friendly visit at the invitation of Colonel General V. Kadijevic, SFRY federal secretary for national defense.

He was seen off at the airport by N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

SFRY Ambassador to the USSR M. Veres was also there to see him off.

On the same day Army Gen D.T. Yazov arrived in Belgrade.

He was greeted at the airport by Col Gen V. Kadijevic and other officials.

USSR Ambassador to the SFRY V.F. Maltsev was also there to greet him.

Visits Tito Memorial, Opens Talks

LD1311223688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] The members of the Soviet military delegation laid a wreath at the Josip Broz Tito Memorial Complex. Wreaths were also laid at the monument to the Soviet military leaders who died in the air crash near Belgrade in October 1964, and at the monument to the Unknown Hero. The USSR defense minister visited the cemetery of the liberators of Belgrade, where lie the ashes of the Soviet soldiers and officers, and servicemen of the Yugoslav National Liberation Army who fell during the liberation of the Yugoslav capital.

In the evening, negotiations began in the Yugoslav Federal Secretariat of National Defense between Dmitriy Yazov and Veljko Kadijevic, SFRY federal secretary for national defense. [video shows Yazov laying wreathes and saluting; Soviet and Yugoslav flags hanging side by side. Talks underway between military delegations]

Yazov Meets SFRY Counterpart

LD1311221288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2006 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Nov (TASS)—A meeting took place today between Army General Dmitriy Yazov, USSR defense minister, who has arrived in Yugoslavia on an official friendly visit, and Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, SFRY secretary for national defense.

During the conversation, which was conducted in a friendly atmosphere, the sides noted with satisfaction the successful development of cooperation between the USSR and the SFRY. It was stressed that the official friendly visit to the SFRY by Mikhail Gorbachev this spring gave a powerful impetus to relations between the two countries and parties.

It was stated in the talks that the ties between the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia are continuing to develop successfully, relying as they do on the glorious traditions of comradeship-in-arms of peoples of the two countries in the struggle against the common enemy in World War II. It was noted that the cooperation between the USSR and the SFRY in the military sphere serves the interests of strengthening universal peace and international security. Questions connected with the further development and strengthening of ties and contacts between the Soviet Armed Forces and the Yugoslav People's Army were examined. Exchanges of information on problems of military construction in the USSR and the SFRY, including the question of the training and education of staff, took place.

The sides examined some topical international issues.

Viktor Maltsev, USSR ambassador to the SFRY, took part in the talks.

The Soviet military delegation visited the memorial complex of Josip Broz Tito and laid a wreath by his tombstone. Wreaths were also laid at the memorial to the unknown hero and at the memorial to those who perished on Mount Avala in an air disaster of Soviet military commanders who were on the way to Belgrade for celebrations of the 20th anniversary of the liberation

of the Yugoslav capital from fascist occupation. A wreath was also laid at the memorial burial ground of Soviet and Yugoslav soldiers who perished during the liberation of Belgrade.

The federal defense secretary gave a dinner in honor of the Soviet guest. In the course of the dinner, Veljko Kadijevic and Dmitriy Yazov exchanged toasts.

Text of GOSR Message From SFRY's Mikulic

PM1411090588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[SFRY Premier Mikulic's greetings to Ryzhkov on Soviet revolution anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

On the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, on behalf of the Federal Executive Council and myself personally, I send you, Esteemed Comrade Ryzhkov, and the USSR Council of Ministers cordial congratulations and best wishes for further successes in socialist building and comprehensive progress of your country.

I am profoundly convinced that the friendly relations and fruitful cooperation between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, which have attained a high level, will continue to develop in the interests of our countries' peoples, peace, equal international cooperation, and universal progress.

[Signed] Branko Mikulic, chairman of the SFRY Federal Executive Council

CSSR Foreign Minister on 2-Day Visit to Moscow

Shevardnadze Meets Johanes

LD1111195888 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 11 Nov 88

[report by Moscow correspondent Lubomir Sisak]

[Text] CSSR Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes arrived on a short working visit to the Soviet Union today. After his arrival Jaromir Johanes met with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze this afternoon. In a comradely discussion the two representatives exchanged views on possibilities for the further development of CSSR-Soviet relations and the coordinated international policy of our two fraternal countries in pushing through the policy aimed at strengthening peace, disarmament, strengthening international security and development of multifaceted mutually profitable cooperation between nations.

Jaromir Johanes and Eduard Shevardnadze also spoke about current topical international problems. In this context the Soviet foreign minister spoke about important aspects of the further development of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, Soviet diplomatic approaches to the West European countries—leading officials of some of which recently visited Moscow—and also tasks of the Soviet foreign policy in expanding relations with states in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Today's talks between the two ministers was also attended by Jindrich Rehorek, extraordinary and plenipontiary CSSR ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Tomorrow, the closing day of the working vist, Jaromir Johanes is scheduled to be received by Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Ryzhkov Receives Johanes

PM1411091788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Strengthening Mutual Understanding"]

[Text] Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received 12 November Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes who has been on a working visit in the Soviet Union.

Both sides noted the great importance of regular Soviet-Czechoslovak contacts at a high political level reflecting the consistent course of the CPSU and the CPCZ, and the governments of the two countries towards strengthening friendship and alliance between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

The Czechoslovak Government's policy statement recently made by its head Ladislav Adamec indicates a broad similarity of the fraternal parties' position on fundamental issues of their mutual relations and socialist renovation of society.

Nikolay Ryzhkov spoke about the current stage of restructuring in the Soviet Union and problems arising in the course of implementing radical reform in the economy and the political system.

Johanes informed about the results of the CPCZ Central Committee October Plenum, social changes in the life of the country and measures to accelerate Czechoslovakia's social and economic development. He noted that the solution of vital problems of socialist construction in Czechoslovakia was inseparable from the fraternal friendship and all-around cooperation with the Soviet Union.

Touching upon foreign policy, the sides emphasized that the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia would exert every effort to ensure further improvement in the international situation, and promote mutual understanding and trust among countries, including European nations, and make this process irreversible.

Present at the talks, which were held in a friendly atmosphere, were I.P. Aboimov, USSR deputy foreign minister, and J. Rehorek, CSSR ambassador to the USSR.

Johanes Addresses Moscow Newsmen

LD1211163588 Prague CTK in English 1511 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow Nov 12 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes told journalists at the close of his visit today that the strengthening of fraternal friendship, alliance and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union is the permanent basis of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy and has decisive importance for the country.

Speaking at the close of his two-day working visit to the Soviet Union the minister noted that he had discussed the development of bilateral relations and a wide range of international issues with Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and during the reception by Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov.

The discussions followed up the talks between the two countries' Communist Party general secretaries Milos Jakes and Mikhail Gorbachev at the beginning of this year and their prime ministers Ladislav Adamec and Nikolay Ryzhkov. It was agreed that the restructuring and democratization of the life of society in both countries and the processes of political and economic reforms create broad possibilities for a qualitatively higher level of mutual cooperation and for the application of its new forms.

Speaking about international issues, Jaromir Johanes said that both countries are prepared to cooperate with all those sincerely wishing to improve the international climate.

He said that special attention was paid in the talks to Europe and the effort to build a common European house. Both sides reiterated their interest in the Vienna follow-up meeting to end as soon as possible with the adoption of a balanced and meaningful document and talks on troop and conventional armament cuts from the Atlantic to the Urals and the second stage of the conference on confidence-building measures and security in Europe to begin before the end of this year.

The talks took place in a friendly and fraternal atmosphere. They confirmed that we can always rely on our Soviet friends, the minister stressed.

Jaromir Johanes ended his two-day working visit to the Soviet Union and left for home today.

He was seen off by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and other officials.

Johanes Cited on Moscow Talks

PM1411155588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Strengthening Friendship"]

[Text] Prague, 13 Nov—The strengthening of the fraternal friendship and alliance and the development of comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union constitute the strong foundation of CSSR foreign policy and are of lasting importance to it. This was stated by CSSR Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes in an interview with Czechoslovak journalists following his visit to the Soviet Union, the CTK agency reported.

During the meetings in the Soviet capital, the minister said, there was a discussion primarily about questions of the further development of mutual links and also a wide range of international issues. We were agreed that the restructuring and democratization of society's life and the political and economic reforms in the two countries create broad opportunities for raising mutual cooperation to a higher qualitative level and for mastering and developing its new forms. It was also stressed that we are prepared to cooperate with anyone who is sincerely seeking to contribute to improving the international climate.

Johanes Ends Visit

LD1211145488 Moscow TASS in English 1440 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 12 TASS—Czechoslovakia's Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes, who was staying in the USSR on a short working visit, left Moscow for Prague today.

At the airport he was seen off by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, and other officials, including Czechoslovakia's Ambassador to the USSR Jindrich Rehorek.

TASS Summarizes Visit

LD1211151588 Moscow TASS in English 1454 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 12 TASS—Jaromir Johanes, minister of foreign affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, stayed in the Soviet Union on a brief working visit on November 11-12.

He was received by Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

Eduard Shevardnadze, a Politburo member and Soviet minister of foreign affairs, and Jaromir Johanes had a detailed conversation during which the sides had a constructive exchange of opinions on matters aimed at further developing bilateral cooperation and on a wide range of international issues.

The talks reflected full unity of views in the estimate of the present state of affairs in Europe and the world. Priority attention was devoted to matters concerning the strengthening of European peace and cooperation which are based on the inviolability of borders and on respect for the existing territorial-political realities.

It was pointed out that the political climate on the continent was improving, and that the idea of a "common European home", the idea which is inseparably connected with the development of the Helsinki process, was winning over more and more supporters. The importance of implementing the Czechoslovak initiative on establishing a zone of trust, cooperation and goodneighbourly relations along the line of contact between the countries of the Warsaw-Treaty North-Atlantic-Treaty organisations was emphasized.

The sides went on record in favour of completing the Vienna meeting at an earliest date with the adoption of a balanced final document.

It was underlined that the statement on confidence-building measures, which was recently adopted in Budapest by the Foreign Ministers' Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states, supplemented and developed the joint platform of the allied countries on matters aimed at lowering the level of military confrontation and at ensuring security on the continent.

The two foreign ministers stated the inadmissibility of any modernisation of nuclear weapons and any compensation through deployment of new nuclear systems for the missiles which are subject to elimination under the INF Treaty.

A conviction was expressed that the convocation of an all-European summit conference with the participation of the United States and Canada to consider the issue concerning reductions in the armed and conventional arms in Europe would promote the elaboration and implementation of a wide range of measures in the field of confidence- and security-building.

During the discussion of the situation in other regions, it was emphasized that it was essential to settle the existing seats of tension and conflicts in a just way by political means without delay on the basis of respect for the right of each people to determine their destiny themselves. In this connection Jaromir Johanes firmly supported the Soviet stand on Afghanistan, and condemned Pakistan's continued flagrant violations of the Geneva agreements.

The sides spoke out in favour of strengthening the United Nations Organization as a world centre for ensuring general and regional security.

The two foreign ministers were gratified to point out the growing cohesion of the Warsaw Treaty member states.

Johanes Interviewed at Visit End

LD1211223388 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Interview with CSSR Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes with Czechoslovak journalists at the conclusion of his visit to Moscow on 12 November—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Comrade Minister, what was the principal purpose of your working visit to Moscow?

[Johanes] Strengthening fraternal friendship, alliance, and multifaceted cooperation with the Soviet Union is the constant base of our foreign policy and has a decisive significance for us. Therefore, my first trip abroad to undertake bilateral talks was to Moscow.

I held talks with Comrade Shevardnadze and I was received by Comrade Ryzhkov. The talks focused mainly on the further development of our mutual relations and on a wide range of the questions concerning the international situation. We followed up on the talks that had taken place between Comrade Jakes and Comrade Gorbachev at the beginning of this year and the talks between Comrade Adamec and Comrade Ryzhkov held recently in Moscow.

We agreed that the processes of restructuring and social democratization which are going on in our two countries, the process of political and economic reforms, create many possibilities for improving the quality of our mutual cooperation and for pushing through and implementing their new forms.

The talks confirmed that our joint efforts in the field of international politics were aimed at averting the danger of war, progressing in the field of disarmament, and strengthening peace and security so that the spirit of new political thinking will continue to infuse international relations. To achieve this, we are prepared to collaborate with all those who sincerely wish to improve the international atmosphere.

[Correspondent] In this context you undoubtedly spoke also about European questions.

[Johanes] Yes. During the talks, special attention was paid to Europe, our efforts to construct a common European home. We again confirmed our interest in the Helsinki follow-up meeting closing as soon as possible with the acceptance of a balanced and comprehensive document, and in beginning this year the talks on reducing armed forces and conventional arms from the Atlantic to the Urals and the second stage of the conference on

confidence-building measures and security in Europe. We consider our factual contribution toward the building of the European home to be the Czechoslovak initiative for creating the zone of confidence, cooperation, and goodneighborly relations on the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO memberstates. In this we have received the full support of our Soviet friends.

[Correspondent] Comrade Minister, to summarize your talks in one sentence, what would you emphasize?

[Johanes] The talks were conducted in a friendly, fraternal atmosphere. They were fruitful and purposeful and confirmed that we can always rely on our Soviet friends.

West Europe

Kohl Addresses Bundestag on USSR Visit Results

PM1211145188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent Ye. Bovkun: "FRG-USSR: Chancellor Sums Up Results"]

[Text] Bonn—The chancellor's government statements are a special political ritual performed in the Bundestag after the swearing-in of a new cabinet, at the new year, or in connection with specially noteworthy events. This Thursday Helmut Kohl, the head of the federal government, devoted a speech in parliament to summing up the results of his visit to Moscow.

Kohl rated it a success and confirmed FRG readiness to deepen cooperation with the Soviet Union. This visit, he stated, pursued the goal of inserting a new forward-looking chapter into the history of relations between the FRG and the USSR and their peoples.

The chancellor stressed the idea already expressed by him earlier that relations with our country are of "central significance" for the FRG. Kohl advocated more active involvement in East-West dialogue by other socialists states too.

The chancellor paid considerable attention to the transformations taking place in the Soviet Union, noting that in the long term restructuring is in the West's interests and that Bonn, for its part, is ready to support it by means of "sensible cooperation."

Dwelling on the problem of disarmament, Kohl expressed the conviction that the principle of reciprocity must remain the crucial criterion when drafting specific accords in this sphere. As far as immediate prospects are concerned, Bonn is interested in the earliest completion of the Vienna meeting of representatives of the CSCE states with the signing of a balanced, substantive final document and the drafting of a mandate for talks on armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

The chancellor's speech, as, incidentally, the utterances of many prominent politicians from the ruling coalition, convincingly shows that Bonn is now coming to the conclusion that security and goodneighborly habitation of a common home increasingly depend on the effectiveness of the Ostpolitik and that the new quality of USSR-FRG relations could serve as an example for other EEC countries to imitate. It is also hoped in FRG Government circles that the results of Kohl's visit to Moscow will to a definite extent help promote the development of constructive discussions on Ostpolitik even in the United States.

The parliamentary debate resumed in the Bundestag after the chancellor's speech revealed the common interest of the ruling coalition and opposition parties in the constructive development of Ostpolitik. H.-J. Vogel, chairman of the Social Democratic Party, did, however, address a number of comments to the chancellor. The Social Democratic leader urged the chancellor to finally adopt a clear position between Genscher's "No!" and Scholz' "Yes!" regarding the modernization of NATO nuclear weapons. There do indeed exist marked disagreements in the approaches of the foreign minister and defense minister to this problem.

Despite the positive impressions of the frank conversations in Moscow R. Scholz has not, by all accounts, shed his mistrust complex vis-a-vis the USSR. At least he remains an advocate of the NATO idea of modernization and in line with this sees prospects for developing the Bundeswehr and other Atlantic alliance armies.

It is gratifying that Ostpolitik has again been elevated in the Federal Republic to the state level and that the federal government is even seeking to weave it into the fabric of foreign contacts between the Common Market and CEMA, that is to say, to impart to it the nature of broad international cooperation. It is also gratifying to see numerous specific manifestations of goodwill regarding cooperation.

Disarmament is more complex. In this sphere mistrust is being overcome with great difficuly. The possessors of weapons have always and everywhere parted with them reluctantly. It remains to be hoped that NATO and FRG military leaders will be convinced of the sincerity of the Soviet Union's peace proposals and of the exceptional nature and uniqueness of the prevailing international situation.

Management Center Agreement With FRG

AU2810210788 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 28 Oct 88 p 13

["HMR" article: "Management Aid for the Soviet Union"]

[Text] Stuttgart, 27 October—An agreement on the establishment of a center for management and marketing in Leningrad was concluded between the Baden-Wuertemberg Economics Ministry and the Machine-Building

Office of the USSR Council of Ministers. The purpose of the first project of this kind is the promotion of cooperation between enterprises in both countries. The training program includes short seminars lasting up to 4 weeks, and longer courses, lasting up to 1 year, for medium-level leading executives and top-level managers in Soviet enterprises. The training program focuses on business management, personnel management, and marketing management. Further programs include courses for industrial logistics, control, and the framework conditions of the market economy, as well as courses for special foreign trade issues.

Mitterrand Speech on Security Policy Analyzed

PM0911120388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Nov 88 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent V. Bolshakov dispatch: "Considering Changing Realities. New Trends in French Foreign Policy"]

[Text] Paris, Nov—"President Mitterrand's speech reflected equally the Gaullist idea of independence, the Socialists' interest in arms control, and the French centrists' insistent desire for Western solidarity"—that's how one U.S. newspaper characterized F. Mitterrand's speech at the Ecole Militaire (the Higher Institute of National Defense Studies is housed there, inter alia) to the leaders of the country's Armed Forces and leading ministers in M. Rocard's government. This speech, and the president's recent speech at the UN General Assembly session, were a kind of program statement on France's defense policy for the next few years.

It is typical that the French press, both the left-wing and right-wing press, pointed out quite unanimously that the president confirmed his loyalty not only to the military doctrine of "independent nuclear deterrence," that is, de Gaulle's idea on the independence of France's Armed Forces from NATO, but also to the idea of modernizing its nuclear missile arsenal. The right-wing opposition immediately attempted to take the credit for Mitterrand's speech and thus, as it were, retrospectively justify themselves for their defeat in the recent elections. Thus Gaullist Deputy F. Fillon from J. Chirac's Rally for the Republic [RPR], chairman of the National Assembly Defense Commission in the recent past, stated that the speech at the Ecole Militaire is, fortunately, sharply at variance with what was said on defense during the presidential election campaign. Whereas priority was given to disarmament and cutting military expenditure in favor of education during the spring, Mitterrand has now demonstrated that he supports true realism by abandoning the mirages of European defense.... Fillon also noted that the president did not essentially touch any of the programs that the right-wingers incorporated in their 5-year plan for the arms race (1987-1991).

However, politicians like Fillon pretended that they had not noticed other elements in F. Mitterrand's speech at the Ecole Militaire, or his speech at the United Nations. At the same time, without abandoning cooperation in defense with the United States and France's other NATO allies, the president stressed that Europe's security can be ensured not only by improving arms but also by reducing the levels of military confrontation on the continent and eliminating the current imbalances and asymmetries in NATO and Warsaw Pact armed forces.

The president also clarified France's nuclear strategy. He confirmed that in the event of a crisis its nuclear forces would from the very start be an integral part of the Western nuclear missile arsenal. At the same time Mitterrand said that control over French nuclear forces would continue to remain the exclusive prerogative of the French president and that these forces could not be used as a nuclear guarantee for any other country in Western Europe, including the FRG.

As for France's approach to disarmament questions, France will, according to the president, no longer hold a stance that is "illogical and difficult for public opinion to understand" in resolving such questions. That is a clear "thrust" at the outgoing right-wing government headed by J. Chirac.

The recent Soviet-French talks during the visit to Paris by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, showed a "high level of compatibility between Soviet and French priorities in the disarmament sphere and also the two countries' readiness to take practical actions in this area." People in Paris are now advocating the very speedy conclusion of a USSR-U.S. treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms while observing the ABM Treaty. France has also made practical proposals on how to secure a reduction in levels of military confrontation in Europe in the next 2 years. In many respects they are similar to the recent initiatives from the Warsaw Pact states. Thus there is a basis for dialogue. France's proposal regarding the speedy completion of work on the elaboration of a convention banning and eliminating chemical weapons, and Paris' readiness to abandon possible production of chemical arms from the time this enters into force, also facilitate progress in this extremely important sphere of the disarmament process.

But one should certainly hardly expect France to pioneer this process. Its practical steps both in improving its own arms and also with regard to Paris' direct participation in talks and concrete disarmament actions will, judging by the speeches made here, be determined by the direction taken by the dialogue on these questions between the owners of the most powerful nuclear missile arsenals of our time—the USSR and the United States.

There are, of course, still questions as to France's final stance on the question of the production and entry into service of the "Hades" missile, with a range of up to 500 km, and questions as to how things will stand regarding the construction of a new nuclear aircraft carrier, and so

on. But this is perhaps not the main thing now. In my opinion, the main thing is that France is demonstrating a growing readiness to discuss the future of the continent on the basis of the community of its peoples' interests.

French President Greets Gorbachev on GOSR

PM1111130788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[Greetings message to Gorbachev from French President Mitterrand under the general heading "Congratulations to the Land of the Soviets"]

[Text] To His Excellency Mikhail S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Mr Chairman,

The Soviet Union's national holiday gives me the opportunity to send warm congratulations and wishes for successes to you personally and to the peoples of the Soviet Union.

My countrymen are following the progress of the reform policy inspired by you with attention and sympathy.

The visit which I will make to your country at the end of November this year on the occasion of the forthcoming launch of a spacecraft carrying a Soviet-French crew—which is a marvelous illustration of the achievements that have become possible as a result of the close cooperation between our two countries—as well as your visit to us in the first few months of 1989 will allow us, of this I am sure, to conduct joint work for the sake of the well-being and prosperity of our peoples and for the building of a more just and reliable peace.

Francois Mitterrand

Norwegians Assess Soviet Trade Prospects

PM1111092588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[APN correspondent D. Vorobyev dispatch for IZVESTIYA: "Norway's Businessmen Looking to the East"]

[Text] Oslo—"We are following the process of the decentralization of economic management in the Soviet Union with interest. Now our enterprises can look directly for commensurate partners in the Soviet market."

I heard these words in reply to my questions from Jon Balstad, Norwegian minister of commerce and shipping, after a meeting of the 15th session of the Soviet-Norwegian Intergovernmental Commission on Economic, Industrial, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation. The minister is head of the Norwegian section of this commission.

"We are satisfied with the results of the talks," Jon Balstad continued. "During this year mutual trade between our two countries will substantially increase. I believe that giving the producers themselves greater independence in the management of their own affairs is a very important factor for the future of our trade contacts. This particularly applies to enterprises and organizations in the north of the Soviet Union.

"That is why during the talks we noted the Norwegian business world's appreciably greater interest in the Soviet Union. The number of firms taking part in the discussions has increased considerably. This time there were 30 of them.

"At the moment our exports to the Soviet Union are increasing thanks to supplies of pulp and paper products but we are also hoping to expand our export of high-technology equipment. I believe that Norway could play a very prominent role in the Soviet market in two areas. These are: technology for extracting minerals from the sea shelf and also the production of installations and structures to protect the natural environment from industrial pollution...."

Trade Counselor A. Lang is head of the department in the Norwegian Export Council that coordinates the actions of local firms in the Soviet market. In his opinion, the economic structure in our country has become much more "penetrable" to the outside view.

"But the changes are happening so fast that we often cannot keep up with them!"

"And what about Norwegian investments in joint ventures on Soviet territory?"

"That is looking too far ahead. What is more, because of the features of its own economy, Norway cannot become a major exporter of capital. Many problems would be solved by a convertible ruble. But when is that going to happen? Even in Hungary, which has gone further than you along this path, specialists do not predict the introduction of a convertible forint for several years to come."

Jarle Forburd is head of the "Barents Kompani." A number of this major firm's most important projects are designed to comprehensively develop contacts with Murmansk Oblast.

"Fish supplied by Soviet trawlers," Forburd said, "could help many small fish processing enterprises in the northern province of Finnmark which face the threat of closure: They do not have enough raw material. Our shipyards are very interested in the possibilities for the technical servicing of Soviet merchant and fishing vessels."

Soviet-Norwegian Cooperation Panel Meets

PM1111142188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 6

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Oslo, 29 Oct—The 15th session of the Soviet-Norwegian Intergovernmental Commission on Economic, Industrial, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation ended here yesterday.

The sides discussed the state and development prospects of trade, economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between the USSR and Norway. While noting the certain growth in commodity turnover in 1988, at the same time they agreed that the existing potential for increasing mutual trade, imparting a more stable nature to it, and improving the structure of commodity turnover could be utilized more efficiently. This can be achieved by developing new forms of economic cooperation, including production collaboration, the creation of joint enterprises, and the involvement of more enterprises and firms in mutual trade.

Finnish Center Party Delegation Visits

PM1011140588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] A delegation of the Finnish Center Party headed by K. Juhantalo, chairman of the party's parliamentary group, has visited the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

The visitors were familiarized with the process of restructuring, the activity of the supreme organs of state power, the reform of the political system, and topical questions of USSR foreign policy. The delegation was received at the USSR Supreme Soviet and the CPSU Central Committee International Department, had conversations at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Ties and the IZVESTIYA editorial office, and took part in celebrating the 71st anniversary of Great October.

Gosteleradio Signs Cooperation Deal With BBC

PM1211145588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] The signing has taken place in London of an agreement on cooperation in the sphere of television and radio broadcasting between the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and the BBC.

PCI Leader Greets Gorbachev on GOSR Anniversary

PM1111112988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[Italian Communist Party leader's greetings to Gorbachev on Soviet revolution anniversary]

[Text] To M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Dear Comrade Gorbachev!

In connection with the 71st anniversary of the October revolution I am glad to send you and the Communists and peoples of the Soviet Union cordial and friendly greetings from Italian Communists and myself personally.

On this occasion I want to express to you personally my most ardent wishes for successful results in the courageous cause of radical restructuring and democratization of Soviet society, which is needed to revive and affirm the ideals of socialism. We also wish you success in the struggle to scale increasingly advanced heights on the path of nuclear and conventional disarmament, in resolving regional conflicts through talks, and in the comprehensive development of cooperation in the world arena.

You can count on Italian Communists' ardent approval and profound respect in this difficult and fundamental cause whose results will be of extremely great significance for all international relations and for the prospects of the struggle of the entire world's progressive and peace-loving forces.

In all cordiality

Achille Occhetto, secretary general of the Italian Communist Party

Moscow TV Interviews Greek Communist Leader

LD0811220188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 8 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; international section interview with Communist Party of Greece General Secretary Florakis by presenter Vladimir Molchanov; Florakis speaking in Greek with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] [Florakis] Speaking about the impact of the great October revolution on the development of the world communist movement, I would say that great October was a turning point in the development of both the world worker's and the national liberation movements. This occurred because the great October revolution showed the working people of the whole world the path they should travel to social liberation.

The victory of the revolution strengthened the working people's belief that the possibility existed to release mankind from man's exploitation by man. Moreover, the great October revolution gave an immense boost to the development of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and had a huge impact on the workers movement in our country. The Communist Party of Greece was created as a result of this.

The party is currently celebrating its 70th anniversary of work directed to protecting the working people's interests and creating a democratic and peace-loving socialist Greece.

The creation of our party was the natural outcome of the development of the class struggle in our country, and the worker's movement needs to have its own party.

The October revolution created the opportunity to form the Greek Communist Party in 1918.

[Molchanov] Restructuring is underway in the Soviet Union. These are radical changes in our country's economic, political and social life. How do Greek communists react to all this?

[Florakis] First, I would like to stress that restructuring is a reaffirmation of the viability of the October revolution, and today we are witnessing new revolutionary changes in the land of the Soviets, changes which refute all those who claimed that the ideas of great October had lost their attractive force. These changes show that the socialist revolution continues. Your restructuring opens up new prospects for peace, democracy, and socialism. [video shows Florakis being interviewed]

Latin America & Caribbean

PRAVDA Notes Yakovlev Talk With Cuban Envoy

PM1011141188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Reception of Cuban Envoy"]

[Text] A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, 9 November received J. Camacho, member of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee Politburo and Cuban ambassador to the USSR.

Topical questions of Soviet-Cuban relations were examined during a conversation that took place in a friendly and cordial atmosphere.

Ortega Greets Gorbachev on GOSR Anniversary

PM1011171788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 Nov 88 First Edition p 4

[Nicaraguan leader's greetings to Gorbachev on Soviet revolution anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Esteemed Comrade Gorbachev

Please accept on behalf of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, the Government and people of Nicaragua, and myself personally the most fraternal congratulations on the occasion of the 7 November celebration of the 71st anniversary of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

We Nicaraguans are delighted by the successes achieved by the Soviet people in the sphere of both domestic and foreign policy, which—being based on the new thinking— has made a great contribution to the cause of attaining peace in the world this year. This was embodied in the Geneva agreements aimed at resolving the problem around Afghanistan, the ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, and the submission of the 7-point peace proposals aimed at transforming the Asia-Pacific region into a zone of peace and cooperation. The Soviet Union is also making persistent efforts in the quest for a peace settlement in various seats of tension that are a grave burden for the entire world by firmly upholding the principle of each people's right to choose its own destiny.

Our people, who are suffering from the hirelings' economic blockade and aggression, organized, financed, and directed by the U.S. Government, has sensed during the 9-year struggle for its national self-assertion and survival the fraternal and selfless aid and the solidarity of the people of Lenin and their vanguard—the CPSU.

Allow me, Comrade Gorbachev, to convey to the Soviet people wishes for further, even greater successes in building a new society, and also to wish the ties of friendship uniting our parties, governments, and peoples to grow stronger and deeper.

With a fraternal greeting

Daniel Ortega Saavedra

Former Contra Intelligence Chief Cited

PM0911114588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS Managua dispatch: "Admissions of a Former Somozist"]

[Excerpt] Managua, 7 Nov—"The contras have lost the war, everything is finished for them"—these words uttered by O. Arce, former intelligence chief of the so-called "Nicaraguan democratic forces," the largest counterrevolutionary armed formation, were put on the first page of the Sunday issue of the BARRICADA newspaper.

The admissions by O. Arce, who broke with the contras and who last Thursday secretly crossed over to Nicaragua, created a real sensation here although much of the information presented by him to journalists on the criminal activity of hired gangs sent by the United States and Honduras was no longer a secret.

The former chief of the counterrevolutionary spy network reported that the U.S. Administration, despite a ban by the U.S. Congress, continues its military supplies to the contras. The $27 billion recently been allocated by U.S. legislators for so-called "humanitarian" aid to the Somozists are really being spent on their military needs. In addition, the contras regularly undergo military training at the Eglin U.S. Air Force base located at the junction of the U.S. states of Florida, Alabama, and Georgia.

Agents of the CIA, acting under cover of the U.S. Embassy in Honduras, give the mercenaries all the essential intelligence information about Nicaragua's military and civilian facilities. Honduran Army officers have been commissioned by the U.S. special services to prepare terrorist actions by the Somozists against the civilian population. O. Arce reported that the contras have the task of attacking village schools and hospitals with the aim of "impeding the implementation of plans by the Sandinist government to improve peasants' well-being."

The former contras' intelligence chief stated that the Honduran Army delivers weapons and combat ammunition to the mercenaries and is also directly participating in battles against the Sandinist People's Army. [passage omitted]

Panama Aide Cited on U.S., Soviet Relations

PM1211141388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Dispatch by unnamed TASS correspondent: "Panama: Role of Puppet Does Not Suit"]

[Text] Panama City, 11 Nov—The international public should know quite clearly: It is worthwhile for Panama to submit to Washington's diktat by agreeing to revise the Panama Canal Treaty and thereby permitting the presence of Pentagon facilities and personnel in the canal zone in the next century inasmuch as "peace, friendship, and accord" will immediately ensue in relations with the United States. The charges leveled against the government and its military command headed by General Noriega of alleged infringement of rights and freedoms, persecution of the opposition, links with the narcotics business, and corruption—the Reagan administration's demagogic big talk can be cited ad infinitum—will be consigned to oblivion. This is how Panamanian Foreign Minister Jorge Eduardo Ritter began his interview with your TASS correspondent.

However, he went on, Washington's hope of turning Panama into an obedient puppet is a vain one. The position of our leadership and people is immutable: We are ready to start constructive talks with the United States to normalize bilateral relations, but only on the basis of strict observance of the principles of equal rights, noninterference in internal affairs, and a halt to aggression, acts of provocation, ideological subversion, "psychological warfare," economic sanctions, constant threats, blackmail, and ultimatums.

As the minister pointed out, the Panamanian leadership is inclined to think that no special illusions regarding real prospects for the rapid normalization of relations are to be entertained in connection with the upcoming changeover in the White House in January.

J. Ritter went on to point out the great international significance of the Soviet decision to accede to the Protocol to the Treaty on the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal. This step by the Soviet Union, he noted, shows its desire to ensure general security and the Soviet Union's solidarity with our struggle for sovereignty and freedom.

Political & Social

Gorbachev, Other Leaders Attend Orel Conference

LD1411100788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Text] Comrades, a TASS report has just been brought to us in the studio. I'll read it to you. A conference opened in Orel today which will discuss topical matters relating to the current stage of restructuring, and primarily to the party and political guarantee of implementation of the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference on improving food supplies to the population. Those taking part in the meeting will familiarize themselves with the experience of introducing new production economic relations in Orel Oblast and speeding up social development in rural areas.

Taking part in the conference are Comrades Gorbachev, Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Ligachev, Nikonov, Vlasov, Razumovskiy, and Solovyev; the first secretaries of the central committees of the Communist Parties of the union republics, kraykoms and obkoms; and the leaders of a number of ministries and departments and of the central organs of the mass media.

The conference was opened by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Sakharov Interviewed Prior to U.S. Trip

LD1111221388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1930 GMT 11 Nov 88

[From the "View" Program; interview with academician Andrey Sakharov by unidentified interviewer; date, place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] The ability to make a free choice is no doubt really one of the most important of all the freedoms that a person can have at his disposal. The man you are going to hear in this interview made a serious choice in his life. It has already been reported that a Soviet delegation has left for the United States to take part in the work of the International Fund for the Survival and Development of Mankind. In it was Academician Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov, member of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified interviewer] Tell us, please, this is the first time you are going to the United States—what is the purpose of your trip?

[Sakharov] I am going as a director of the Fund for the Survival and Development of Mankind. This is an international foundation, and it has virtually been unable to work when one of its directors was unable to travel. The leadership of the foundation made very great efforts, therefore the decision was made here at the very highest level that I should be able to travel outside the frontiers of the USSR. For a very long time I was involved in the development of thermo-nuclear weapons. I considered then that this was necessary for balance in the world, and I continue to consider that to be the case now. At the same time, however, I understood the whole horror of the things I was engaged in, the whole horror that thermo-nuclear war could bring to mankind. I also began to oppose nuclear testing in the atmosphere.

In 1968 I wrote my first open public statement, my article, which became very widely known. After that the sphere of my activity began to get wider. I started to devote even more, I started to devote a lot of attention to the specific destinies of people, to specific people. So the field of my public activity was extended, and, well, there was a certain boundary when I was exiled to Gorkiy.

Having returned from there I considered it my duty to continue under the new conditions to do what I consider to be socially important.

[Interviewer] Who invented the hydrogen bomb?

[Sakharov] It was collective work. It was collective in the United States, and collective in the Soviet Union. I was one of them in the Soviet Union.

[Interviewer] Andrey Dmitriyevich, why are you a chairman of the "memorial" public council?

[Sakharov] People were questioned on the street. Many names were quoted. One of them was me. Afterward they asked me to be honorary chairman, and I agreed because I consider this matter to be extraordinarily important, important for our country, for its future. [video shows Sakharov with his wife Yelena Bonner at his side, speaking into the interviewer's microphone]

Red Square Wreath-Laying Marks Militia Day

PM1111165588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Nov 88 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Laying of Wreaths"]

[Text] Representatives of internal affairs organs who have come to Moscow from all corners of the country assembled in Red Square on the birthday of the Soviet militia—10 November. Also in attendance were leaders of the USSR MVD, representatives of Moscow Red Banner militia services and subunits, and Cheka veterans. They laid wreaths at the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum.

Wreaths were also laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, near the Kremlin Wall.

The memory of that knight of the revolution—F.E. Dzerzhinskiy—was honored with a wreath and flowers laid at his tomb near the Kremlin Wall. Flowers were also laid at the F.E. Dzerzhinskiy Monument on the

square that bears his name. Fresh flowers were laid beside the memorial plaques set up in honor of the Muscovite militia heroes who have died in the course of their duties.

Flowers were also laid at the tombs of militiamen S.M. Pekalov and Ye.P. Shvyrkov, who died heroically in 1918 and are buried near the Kremlin Wall.

Officials Attend Meeting

PM1111120788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Devoted to Militia Day"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting devoted to Soviet Militia Day was held in Moscow 10 November.

The presidium was composed of V.M. Chebrikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Yu.N. Khristoradnov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union; A.S. Pavlov, chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; A.Ya. Sukharev, USSR prosecutor general; B.V. Kravtsov, USSR minister of justice; representatives of labor collectives from Moscow and the Moscow area, and senior party and soviet workers.

A report was delivered by V.V. Bakatin, USSR minister of internal affairs.

Chebrikov Makes 'Familiarization' Visit to Estonia

Arrives Tallinn 11 Nov

LD1111205888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [CPSU Central Committee Politburo member] Viktor Mikhaylovich Chebrikov arrived in Tallinn today. The familiarisation with Estonia began at the "Norma" production association, an enterprise that is renowned for its wide range of consumer goods. Comrade Chebrikov inquired about the working conditions and leisure facilities for the workforce, as well as about matters that concern the overall political situation in Estonia. [video shows Chebrikov arriving at Norma, looking at trays produced there, walking through production shop]

A frank conversation about the most topical problems in the life of the republic, such as financial autonomy in the republic, relations between the nationalities, and ecological problems passed off in an unconstrained atmosphere in the enterprise's recreation and reading room. Those that spoke at the meeting voiced full support for the party's restructuring policies, and they also expressed the views of some of the labor workforce that do not support certain articles in the draft law on changes and additions to the USSR Constitution. Comrade Chebrikov answered numerous questions from the "Norma" workers. In the evening a meeting took place with the workforce of the "Dvigatel" works. [video shows Chebrikov seated at long table with other people, then shown standing addressing them]

Tallinn on Visit

LD1111214788 [Editorial Report] Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian at 1700 GMT on 11 November 1988 carries a report, monitored with very poor reception, on the visit to Tallinn, capital of Estonia, by Viktor Mikhaylovich Chebrikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on 11 November.

The announcer introduces the report with highlights of Chebrikov's activities, noting that he visited several labor collectives, but that no Estonian journalists were allowed into the "Dvigatel" works and so there is no information available on Chebrikov's meeting with the workers there.

The report begins by noting that Chebrikov was met on arrival at the airport by Vaino Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee; Arnold Ryutel, chairman of the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium; and other figures.

The report goes on to state that Chebrikov and Vyalyas visited the "Norma" plant, where he was shown around and discussed with the plant director self-management in Estonia and amendments to the USSR Constitution. The reporter notes that the workers are not satisfied with the short period allowed for discussion of the draft amendments.

Speaking at the plant, Chebrikov says that there were several people with him at Moscow Airport, with O.D. Baklanov flying to Kabul, V.A. Medvedev to Riga, and N.N. Slyunkov to Vilnius. He also says that CPSU General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev will visit Orel "on Monday" for an agricultural conference. Chebrikov adds that other party leaders have plans to travel both within and outside the USSR so as to better hear the voice of the people.

On the question of the independence of the union republics and self-management, Chebrikov says that the Soviet Union is vast and that production relations are complex and interdependent. He adds: "No oblast, no rayon, no ministry is capable of functioning independently," because this is technically impossible.

The reporter concludes this section by saying that the meeting at the "Norma" plant took place in an atmosphere of understanding.

The report next describes Chebrikov's visit to the "Dvigatel" plant. The reporter says:

"Naturally, the guests were received. The PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA correspondents were also received. But the doorman refused entry to the correspondents from the Estonian Telegraph Agency, and Estonian Television and Radio. So this is how democracy and openness are understood [word indistinct]. The question arises, if people here in the capital of Estonia declare themselves as extraterritorial, then how can they have a say in Estonian matters?"

The report concludes with another section in which a correspondent interviews Ryutel about the work of an Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau Commission on the draft amendments. He says that the commission has received nearly 650,000 signatures and opinions, about 90 percent of which oppose the draft amendments. Ryutel says that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo has reacted quickly to the problems presented by the Estonians and has taken the view that there is indeed reason to consider these problems.

Answers Farm Workers' Questions

LD1211225988 Moscow TASS in English 2240 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Text] Tallinn November 13 TASS—Viktor Chebrikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, continues his meetings with people in the Soviet Baltic Republic of Estonia. He met with workers of the state farm Kekhtna on Saturday.

Chebrikov gave serious and thoughtful answers to their numerous and incisive questions. Along with obvious positive changes being brought by the economic reform—greater autonomy of each individual farm above all, the farmers complained about numerous impediments to their work, such as excessive centralisation in the distribution of resources and high prices on farm machinery.

Viktor Chebrikov noted that fundamental changing of the economic structure would take more than one day and that the party was constantly working in that direction taking into account the wishes of farmers. For instance, in accordance with the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference, CPSU is considering their idea of granting economic independence to some regions.

Touching upon inter-ethnic relations in Estonia, Chebrikov said that all misunderstanding arising between various ethnic groups was a result of errors committed by local party leaders in the past and was the vestige of the period of stagnation, and, therefore, had no particular grounds today. Chebrikov said that the people of Estonia should pool their efforts. His view was shared by the Kekhtna workers.

Answering the farmers' questions, Chebrikov dwelt on expansion of the rights of union republics. He said that the matter should be studied carefully by each Soviet republic individually as well as at the union level with participation of representatives of all the republics.

'Any rush in resolving any of such vital issues can result in the fact that we will obtain nothing but lose a lot,' Chebrikov said. He suggested that questions of interethnic relations be discussed at a special plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

More on Remarks to Workers

PM1311172388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Nov 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Consolidation of Forces Is the Main Thing"]

[Text] Questions of further broadening economic autonomy [samostoyatelnost] and the democratization of society, and the improvement of interethnic relations on the principles of socialist internationalism and of people's living and working conditions are at the center of attention at meetings and conversations between V.M. Chebrikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and working people of Soviet Estonia.

V.M. Chebrikov visited the "Norma" Production Association. He toured the shops of the enterprise, which employs 3,500 people and manufactures 350 items of consumer goods. The CPSU Central Committee secretary displayed interest in the possibilities of boosting output quality and introducing new technology.

Chatting with foundryhand E. Kudrina, he asked how she assesses the mutual relationships within the collective.

"We have representatives of many nationalities working in our shop, and there is no hostility—let alone enmity—among us," came the reply.

Yu. Kheli has worked at the association for 20 years. A hereditary worker from a large familiy which raised 11 children, he became chief of a shop and a member of the party. Today, three of his brothers and three of his sisters work at the "Norma." The family's length of service is 150 years. V.M. Chebrikov asks Yu. Kheli which language the enterprise's working people use to communicate.

"We have no language barrier here. We speak in the Estonian and Russian languages and we understand each other fine. The exaggeration of the so-called language problem by a part of the population is simply contrived."

A conversation took place with representatives of the "Norma" administration and party, trade union, and Komsomol committees, as well as activists of the movement People's Front for Restructuring.

On the instruction of the collective the association's general director, U. Kyaer, voiced some observations and proposals concerning the draft laws on amending the USSR Constitution and on elections of people's deputies.

He said in particular that it is necessary to involve the fully empowered representatives of all the republics more broadly in the formulation of these drafts. Moreover, too little time has been allocated for the discussion of the drafts. The Law on the Enterprise, for instance, was discussed for about a year. Yet only a month or so has been set aside for discussion of the present, no less important documents. U. Kyaer voiced the apprehension that in the event of the adoption of the amendments to the USSR Constitution in the form in which they have been submitted for discussion, the rights and autonomy of the union republics may be infringed.

"You know, comrades," V.M. Chebrikov said, "that great things are under way in the country, that we are greatly preoccupied with the issues of restructuring. In this work the CPSU Central Committee Politburo tries all the time to feel the pulse of the times, to see and resolve the emergent problems. And therefore we will be endeavoring to travel around the country more, to get among the collectives more often, to meet people, in order to hear the voice of the people on the spot.

"What we have seen at your enterprise can be characterized as 'acceleration.' You are making output that is popular, that the country needs. The working class and the engineering and technical personnel have a conscientious attitude toward their work. At the workplaces I asked several comrades how social and consumer questions are being resolved, I asked about the catering, the shower rooms, the conditions for work and relaxation, and about transport. They all told me that concern for these is being displayed, and that the conditions for work and everyday living are satisfactory. But, like everywhere else, here too the solution of a number of questions is probably still in its initial stage. I asked about such issues as economic accountability [khozraschet], and autonomy. These are altogether interesting questions, interesting problems. Ours is a vast country, and its economic mechanism is so tied up and so interwoven that any production processs depends on the work of many plants and many regions of our country. So you get your tape [lenty] from Magnitogorsk, your ploymer materials from Turkmenia, your subassemblies from Leningrad and Moscow. All this demonstrates what enormous links we have with the entire country. Therefore, when we talk about the question of autonomy, about sovereignty, it is evidently necessary to look at these problems a little more broadly. Today not a single republic, not a single oblast, not a single region, not a single ministry can work in isolation. I will say more: Internal ties are no longer enough for us. We must go beyond them. Therefore it is evidently necessary to analyze these things more fully and to see what autonomy is in our times. It is possible to acquire autonomy but lose everything else. Life has to be viewed realistically, in its interlinkage."

V.M. Chebrikov noted that the country's leadership is discussing these questions and is endeavoring to make the right decisions which would not wreck contractual deliveries and which would not wreck cooperation and everything that is working well for us and where the economic mechanism is operating in sufficiently full harmony. But we can see that not everything is in order in this question and that it is necessary to give even more autonomy to the republics and the enterprises.

Then V.M. Chebrikov dwelt on the discussion now under way in the country of the draft USSR laws on changes and additions to the USSR Constitution and on elections of people's deputies. By today we have received over 83,000 proposals and amendments. There are observations and additions. They are being worked on actively right now, with everything being considered, and I believe that the final version will take a great deal of this into account. Some people have understood it in such a way that the amendments infringe the rights of the union republics. Such opinions are erroneous. Our plans are such: To carry out the work in stages. To create at the second stage a separate document on the union republics, containing a great depth of detail, where your proposals will also be taken into consideration. Nobody is setting himself the goal of encroaching on any republic at all.

V.M. Chebrikov visited the state union "Dvigatel" Plant named for V.I. Lenin. Following a tour of the enterprise there was a detailed conversation with representatives of the large worker collective. In particular, those who spoke at it mentioned that interethnic relations in the republic have become exacerbated. At crowded meetings and rallies certain speakers are passing off their own personal desire as the opinion of the entire people of Estonia. This is generating a protest from the "Dvigatel" workers. The meeting participants advocated that chief attention should now be focused on economic and social problems as the basis for solving interethnic issues, with consideration of the documents which will be adopted at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

"The chief task," V.M. Chebrikov emphasized, "facing the republic party organization today is that of consolidation. The roots of the friendship of the Estonian and Russian peoples go deep. There are no grounds for schism and quarreling.

"It is impossible not to note that there is much that is positive in several proposals coming in from Estonia and other places. Therefore to sweep completely everything aside is no method, no way of doing things. But there are proposals and opinions which demand a rebuff. And this

must be delivered. To extremism above all else. And this rebuff must come not only from individual party organizations but also from the Estonian Communist Party as a whole. The draft laws on amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution and elections of USSR people's deputies now submitted for nationwide discussion are—as I have already said—the first stage of a great deal of work to improve the country's political system. All proposals and observations will be examined and considered in the most attentive fashion. At subsequent stages legislative acts will be adopted on questions of republics' rights of autonomy. Important and complex work is under way, the correct decisions must be found in order to assist us to proceed down the road of restructuring, the road charted by the 19th all-union party conference.

"I believe," V.M. Chebrikov said, "that the party, the Estonian Communist Party included, possesses sufficient forces, cadres, devotion to the cause, and trust from the people to resolve the problems which have arisen. But life is constantly placing new problems on the agenda. And we are asking you to assist the republic party organization to consolidate its forces."

V.M. Chebrikov visited the "Kekhtna" research-and-demonstration sovkhoz-technical college—one of the best farms, the forge for Estonia's agricultural cadres where in just over half a century around 5,500 people have received education or increased their qualifications. Modern large-scale production, scientific research work, and the training of young specialists are organically combined here.

"The switch to intraorganizational economic accountability," the farm's director, U. Tinits, said by way of elucidation, "has enabled us to achieve good results despite all the difficulties. When everyone has an interest in reducing production expenditure, and the advantage is reciprocal: The farm provides more good-quality output and supplements the working people's family budgets. We conduct precise accounting promptly every month, so that everyone now always has the complete picture. But the fact that as yet we don't know in good time how much resources we are receiving—mixed feeds especially—is a very serious obstacle. This year's harvest in Estonia was a poor one, and feed stocks are meager."

The problem of further developing production generated an animated discussion. "Kekhtna" specialists believe that it is impossible to expand large-scale production with existing technologies—the ecology will not permit it. So small-scale production and alternative agriculture must come to our assistance. But many of the small farmer's [khutoryanin] problems have yet to be resolved. Above all it is necessary to legalize land-ownership rights. And the mechanization of small farms is yet another stumbling block. For example, T-40 tractors cost too much.

"Naturally, it's impossible to find answers to all your questions in the course of a single day," V.M. Chebrikov said. "However, I believe that together we will find a way out of the situation. Thus, as far as I know, the question of rendering assistance to the republic on those problems you've been talking about—including the allocation of concentrated feeds—is being resolved. The conversation we have had is a sign of the times: in conditions of broadening glasnost, when diverse opinions and proposals are being boldly voiced."

The CPSU Central Committee secretary replied to many questions put by the peasants.

V.I. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, accompanied V.M. Chebrikov and took part in the conversations.

Ethnic 'Friction' During Visit

AU1311173288 Paris AFP in English 1707 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, Nov 13 (AFP)—Friction between rival Estonian and Russian ethnic groups was reported on Sunday in the runup to crucial voting this week in the Estonian Supreme Soviet on constitutional reforms.

Estonian sources reached by telephone said the Estonian parliament speaker and the republic's Communist Party secretary were booed by ethnic Russians at a meeting of the Internationalist Movement (IM) in Tallinn on Saturday.

The republic's parliament is to discuss amendments to the Soviet constitution on Wednesday that are opposed by Estonian autonomists, who fear they will forestall any chance of increased autonomy.

Provisions for greater economic and political freedom were agreed to at a Soviet Communist Party conference in June, Estonian sources have said, but were left out of the final versions of the reform proposals published last month.

Leaders of popular movements in Estonia and the neighbouring republics of Latvia and Lithuania have taken the absence of the provisions as an official rebuff.

Ethnic Estonians are fighting the reforms, while Russians—the population is now equally divided—support them.

The Kremlin has ordered a Central Committee member Viktor Chebrikov to Estonia, and PRAVDA on Sunday quoted him as attacking the republic's Communist Party for not criticising extremists.

He also called on ethnic Russians to help the Estonian Communist Party to maintain the unity of the two communities.

But at Saturday's meeting, Russian IM members booed parliamentary speaker Arnol'd Ryuytel' and republic Communist Party secretary Georgiy Aleshin, a Russian.

They told the meeting, attended by about 4,000 people, that official support for the pro-autonomy Popular Front (PF) organisation was not directed against the Russian community.

A poster battle has also broken out between the two organisations, with the IM covering PF posters with their own bills for partial parliamentary elections also to be held on Wednesday.

The IM has called one hour meetings to be held on Tuesday to support the constitutional reforms as they stand. Estonian groups are collecting petitions against the reforms.

The local press agency said 482,404 signatures, out of a population of 1.5 million, had been collected for a petition to be handed in to the Estonian parliament on Wednesday.

Slyunkov Pays Visit to Lithuania 11-14 Nov

Arrives in Vilnius 11 Nov

LD1211003888 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, member of the Politburo, Nikolay Slyunkov, has arrived Friday morning in Vilnius. He was met at the airport by First Secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Algirdas Brazauskas, Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Vytautas Astrauskas, Chairman of the Lithuanian Council of Ministers Vytautas Sakalauskas, and Secretary of the Lithuanian Central Committee Stanislovas Giedraitis.

Nikolay Slyunkov is going to stay in Lithuania till Monday.

Mr Slyunkov, who is 59, has visited Lithuania several times already as a high-ranking Belorussian Communist Party official. Last year he was elected secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and member of the Politburo. Recently Nikolay Slyunkov became head of one of several commissions of the Central Committee, namely the commission on economic and social issues.

It is reported that members of the Politburo, Vadim Medvedev and Viktor Chebrikov, have arrived today in Riga and Tallinn. Nikolay Slyunkov has noted, while speaking in Vilnius, that these trips are meant to get to know better the problems of perestroyka in the Baltic republics. Issues of developing the economic management and scientific technical progress, as well as the reasons for hindering the perestroyka process are going to be discussed at a meeting with the members and the candidate members of the Bureau of the Lithuanian Communist Party's Central Committee.

Nikolay Slyunkov commented on the controversial draft amendments to the Soviet Constitution. The high-ranking guest said that we were witnessing the first stage of nationwide discussions. The Constitution will, on the whole, remain the same with only a few amendments. These amendments do not concern the sovereignty of the republics, said Nikolay Slyunkov. However, at present the issue of sovereignty is the essential one in Lithuania. The evident shortcomings of the amendments have sparked off a number of protest pickets.

One of the pickets took place in front of the Lithuanian Central Committee where Nikolay Slyunkov met with the Lithuanian leadership. Mr Slyunkov spoke to the demonstrators then answered their questions.

The first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Algirdas Brazauskas spoke in detail about the process of perestroyka in Lithuania, the Lithuanian Reform Movement and the political situation in Lithuania.

Later on Nikolay Slyunkov visited the Vilnius injection equipment plant. A picket of protest against the amendments to the constitution took place in front of the plant. The issue of the amendments was the main one at the meeting with the workers of the plant.

Nikolay Slyunkov said that the controversial discussions started because the people thought the whole Constitution was being changed. But this is not so. The amendments will guarantee the success of the first stage of the political reform, namely the handing over of real power from party bodies to the soviets. The economic reform is being also carried out stage by stage. Nikolay Slyunkov said that the issue of the status of the Baltic republics is not being touched upon by the present amendments, these issues are going to be discussed later on and the republics will have their say on the question. The amendments take into account the interests of every republic and every citizen.

Mr Slyunkov has said that the ideas of the 19th party conference are not being circumvented. He told the workers of the Vilnius injection equipment plant to trust the central party bodies.

A man replied: We have trusted you for 70 years and now we want constitutional guarantees.

It seems that the issue of the draft amendments is going to be the leitmotiv of Mr Slyunkov's stay in Lithuania. Various pickets will be held wherever he goes. Meanwhile people are signing against the amendments throughout Lithuania. A member of the (?same) council

of the Lithuanian Reform Movement has told us this evening that 110,000 signatures have already been put down on protest sheets in Vilnius alone. That was news about Lithuania.

Visits Fuel Equipment Plant

LD1111204588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [CPSU Central Committee Politburo member] Nikolay Nikitovich Slyunkov arrived in Lithuania today. The conversations between Nikolay Nikitovich Slyunkov and the residents of Vilnius in the streets and squares of the town were full of profound interest and political activeness. Comrade Slyunkov gave an account of the progress in the discussion of the draft laws on changes and additions to the USSR Constitution and the Law on the Election of People's Deputies.

At the Vilnius fuel equipment works a meeting between Nikolay Nikitovich and the workforce, comprising representatives of 24 nationalities, took place in the works' club. The workers talked about their life, concerns, and aspirations and spoke about unresolved problems. In his speech Comrade Slyunkov noted that the work on restructuring undertaken by the party requires consistency, purposefulness, and patience. The party has great plans for the further development of the economic system and the state machinery. Their implementation will depend on the activeness and conscientiousness of each one of us. [video shows meeting in hall with Slyunkov shown speaking from rostrum]

Protest Pickets Posted

LD1311004288 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Text] Yesterday protest pickets were posted at places where the guest [Politburo member Nikolay Slyunkov] visited. The pickets were posted because the society is not satisfied with the suggested changes and amendments to the USSR Constitution. Yesterday Vytautas Sakalauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian Council of Ministers, declared on TV that he did not support the proposed changes [words indistinct]

The same was announced in the joint statement released by the Lithuanian Communist Party and government. Yet the statement reamrks that there are numerous changes which do not correspond to the resolutions adopted by the 19th party conference. The statement also voices the Lithuanian Communist Party and government's support for the lawful demands raised by the society. The statement stresses that work on the changes to the Soviet Constituion should begin with preparations to have new constitutions for union republics.

At present the Lithuanian Communist Party and government are working out their point of view on the draft laws. This opinion will be voiced to the supreme institutions of the Soviet Communist Party and Government. At the samne time a draft Lithuanian constitution is being worked out. This draft will outline the republic's sovereignty.

Yesterday Vytautas Sakalauskas also discouraged posting protest pickets at the places where Nikolay Slyunkov, CPSU Central Committee secretary visited.

Addresses Party Members on Reform

PM1411103188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Making Socialism a Really Vital Creation of the People"]

[Text] Vilnius, 12 Nov—The party's demand that people get down more energetically to practical questions of restructuring and the solution of specific tasks in renewing society's life is eliciting a deep response among the Lithuanian SSR's Communists and working people, with whom N.N. Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met on his visit here.

During a conversation with members and candidate members of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee the way in which the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference are being carried out in the republic was analyzed and problems of Lithuania's all-around development and the progress of discussion by working people of the draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and Law on the Election of People's Deputies were examined. The need to raise all work to improve interethnic relations to a new level and to elaborate effective measures to implement Lenin's nationalities policy at the contemporary stage was stressed.

A meeting was held between the CPSU Central Committee secretary and the collective of the "Vilnyusskiy Zavod Toplivnoy Apparatury Imeni 50-letiya SSSR" association. It was lively and informal in nature and everyone who wished to speak did so. In numerous verbal and written questions from the hall the enterprise workers asked that explanations be given on a number of topical problems concerning the country's development, the implementation of the economic reform, and political transformations. In his speech N.N. Slyunkov answered questions of concern to working people.

Your plant, he said, is known throughout the country. I have been here before and have the opportunity to draw comparisons. Today this is a really major, advanced enterprise. Along with others constructed during the years of Soviet power, it determines the modern industrial face of the republic.

There is another important point. Representatives of 24 nationalities work in the association. Lithuanians and Russians, Poles and Belorussians work side by side here. In short, it is a multinational collective. They work in a harmonious and coordinated fashion, as ought to be the case in our country. We have seen for ourselves from numerous examples that a sense of genuine proletarian internationalism and Soviet patriotism is inculcated and manifested best of all in such multinational worker collectives.

We have just marked the 71st anniversary of Great October. The results of what has been done have been summed up. And quite a lot has been done since April 1985. It can be stated that the process of improving the health of the country's economy and a reorientation of it toward society's social needs have begun.

In the 1st 3 years of the 5-year plan the USSR's national income has risen 11.4 percent through increased labor productivity. Production of consumer goods is growing at preferential rates. Nine percent more housing will be commissioned in 1986-1988 than envisaged in the 5-year plan. The commissioning targets for schools, hospitals, and other facilities in the social sphere are being overfulfilled.

We will soon celebrate the 70th anniversary of the establishment of Soviet power in Lithuania. Here it is appropriate to recall what unification within the USSR gave the peoples of our country.

The rapid economic upsurge of your republic began during the years of Soviet power, the speaker went on. The Lithuanian SSR now occupies a prominent place in the country's integrated national economic complex. The republic possesses a powerful industrial and scientific potential. Machine building, instrument making, radio and electrical equipment, electronics, chemicals, and other industrial sectors are developing dynamically.

Your successes in agriculture are well known. The republic has the highest level of per capita meat and milk production in the country.

The Lithuanian SSR has deep economic ties with other republics. While supplying them with the products of its agro-industrial complex, machine tool building, instrument making, and electrical equipment industries, it, in turn, satisfies via interrepublic supplies virtually all its needs for fuel and nonferrous metals, about 80 percent of its needs for ferrous metals and more than half its needs for machine building output.

The republic's economic achievements are the result of skillful management of its national economy and effective participation in the all-union division of labor and the result of the efforts of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia.

They are the result of implementation of Lenin's nationalities policy. It has not always been implemented consistently. There have been mistakes, which we are now energetically rectifying. The party sees the friendship of the peoples as the way to fully solve the nationalities question.

Socialism can fully reveal its potential in our Soviet land only when the interests of each nation and every union republic are harmoniously combined with the common interests of the whole Soviet people.

The radical economic reform ushers in new opportunities for economic growth, N.N. Slyunkov said. The transfer of enterprises and organizations to full economic accountabilty is under way. Experience of work under leasing and contract conditions is accumulating. The cooperative movement and individual labor activity are expanding.

The CPSU Central Committee sees it as a very important task for our central economic organs to draw the correct lessons from the accumulated experience and take account of them when drawing up the 13th 5-Year Plan and shaping the concept for the country's economic and social development through the year 2005.

During my very short stay in the republic, the CPSU Central Committee secretary went on, quite a few questions have been asked about the draft laws on amendments to the constitution and on the election of USSR people's deputies which have been submitted for nationwide discussion. I would like to say the following on this score.

The basic guidelines for the radical reform of our political system were, as you know, defined by the 19th All-Union Party Conference. The reform is designed to reveal more fully the potential of people's power and enhance the effectiveness of all our social institutions. It will make profound changes to all spheres of social relations and endow them with a new democratic content.

The clear demarcation of functions between party and state organs is its cornerstone. This means that the party must reveal all of its creative potential as the political vanguard of socialist society and the soviets must reveal theirs as the sovereign representative organs of the Soviet people.

The draft laws are aimed at amending those provisions of the USSR Constitution which primarily relate to the organization and activity of the organs of state power and management and the reform of judicial organs. Nationwide discussion of the draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the Constitution and Law on the Election of People's Deputies is designed to create the conditions for implementation of the first stage of the political reform. It is intended to make to the constitution only those amendments which will form the basis

for the proposed reorganization of the supreme organs of power. Other important tasks such as the harmonization of relations between the USSR and union republics and the status of union and autonomous republics will be resolved at subsequent stages of the political transformations. It is intended to extend their rights and potential in various spheres of economic, sociopolitical, and cultural life.

The party Central Committee recently examined the question of preparation for the CPSU Central Committee Plenum to be held in mid-1989. The CPSU Central Committee resolution stresses that under conditions of restructuring, democratization, and the creation of a rule-of-law state the tasks of improving interethnic relations assume special importance and topicality.

It is necessary to take energetic action and eliminate acute issues which may complicate the situation, particularly in the social sphere and in the development of national culture and language, N.N. Slyunkov stressed. It is necessary not to lose the initiative in raising and solving urgent problems, to go more boldly into labor collectives, and to talk openly with people about pressing concerns.

It is clear that the improvement of constitutional legislation is not something that can be done overnight at somebody's wish or willful decision. It is a complex, objectively conditioned process. Some things have to be deferred for careful deliberation.

The publication of the draft laws for nationwide discussion shows that our society has entered a new phase in its socialist renewal, the speaker stressed. Intensive work on many other questions of political reform is now under way. The preparation has started of laws on local self-management and the local economy, the status of people's deputies, the press, trade union rights, young people, voluntary societies, organs of independent social activity and other independent activity associations, freedom of conscience, the fundamentals of criminal legislation, the rights and obligations of the Soviet militia, and others.

Thus, to state briefly the leading trend in our political life, it is the increasingly broad involvement of working people of all nationalities in the management of social and state affairs. Deputies will be closer to the people, and the people will be closer to their deputies. That is the principled line of our Leninist party. I am certain that it is shared by all working people in Soviet Lithuania.

N.N. Slyunkov concluded by thanking the meeting participants for their energetic participation in the discussion of questions affecting important aspects of the life of the country and the republic.

A meeting today with Lithuania's leading economists, representatives of other scientific specialisms, and economic leaders discussed questions concerning the development of a new economic management mechanism for the republic and the introduction of regional economic accountability.

On the same day N.N. Slyunkov visited a Vilnius drill-production plant, studied its collective's work, inspected a number of the enterprise's shops and subunits, and conversed with workers and specialists.

Meets Scientists on 'Progress'

LD1211224788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Text] Comrade Slyunkov is in Lithuania.

[Unidentified correspondent] A meeting between Comrade Slyunkov and a group of scientists, planners, and enterprise directors at the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee was devoted to problems concerning the acceleration of scientific and technological progress and restructuring in the economy of the Lithuanian SSR.

Nikolay Nikitovich Slyunkov noted that the Lithuanian SSR, where under the conditions of restructuring the economy is developing at a relatively faster pace, is one of the first union republics to take part in the republican financial autonomy experiment. In the future it is planned to strengthen the economic independence of other regions of the country too. It is expected that this will help to considerably enhance the regions' interest in the results of their economic activities.

However, as speakers noted, the transition to economic independence not only of the republic as a whole but also of individual enterprises is still being hampered by the stubborn reluctance of certain all-union departments to give up command methods of management. It is necessary to solve the problems of the market and pricing and many other problems as well. Nikolay Nikitovich called for uniting the efforts of scientists and specialists for an all-around and profound study of the complex problems of regional financial autonomy, showing in this respect a willingness to understand all arguments and reasons and a striving to reveal a balance of interests.

In the afternoon Comrade Slyunkov visited the Vilnius drills works, one of the largest in the industry, spoke with the workers about their working and living conditions, and showed an interest in the technical creativity of inventors and the enterprise's direct contacts with foreign firms.

TV Reports Sovkhoz Visit

LD1311222888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [CPSU Central Committee Politburo member] Nikolay Nikitovich Slyunkov visited the Kaisiadorys Sovkhoz in the Lithuanian SSR today. In conditions of financial autonomy and self-financing the diversified farm gets more than R2,000 of income from every hectare of rural land. The success has been helped by the introduction of the experience of frontranking farms of the country, in particular of neighboring Belorussia. Nikolay Nikitovich Slyunkov highly praised the socialist competition and mutual aid of many years' standing between Lithuanian and Belorussian farmers. Comrade Slyunkov inquired about the development of production. It is being hindered by high prices, and frequently also by the low quality of Soviet agricultural technology. Direct contacts with foreign firms are also needed, but for that the farms need independence, which would also enable them to react swiftly to price fluctuations, first and foremost in as far as the marketing of fruit is concerned, up to 200,000 tons of which are grown here.

Comrade Slyunkov visited the sovkhoz settlement, and accepted an invitation from driver Kazimiers Suchoshavyus to visit his home.

In conversations with inhabitants of the settlement Nikolay Nikitovich noted that at the present time it is intended to introduce into the constitution only those changes on the basis of which it is planned to carry out reorganization of higher organs of power. The task of improving relations between nationalities is of particular importance and urgency in conditions of restructuring. At subsequent stages it is intended to extend the rights and powers of the union and autonomous republics in different spheres: economic, social, and political and cultural life.

Calls for Sensible Resource Use

LD1311152288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1433 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Text] Vilnius, 13 Nov (TASS)—Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who has been in Lithuania for 3 days now, visited a large horticultural sovkhoz in the settlement of Chezhmaryay in rural Kaisiadorys party rayon today. He also familiarized himself with Lithuania's second largest town, Kaunas, where he had a meeting with party workers and deputies of the town soviet.

Questions concerning the restructuring taking place in the USSR and tackling specific tasks in society's renewal were discussed during meetings with the CPSU Central Committee secretary. The day before, in the Lithuanian Communist Party Central (?Committee) he had a meeting with scientists, economists, and those in charge of industrial enterprises in the republic.

Nikolay Slyunkov described the restructuring taking place in the country and the course of the economic reform, and dwelt on the question of regional financial autonomy and enterprise independence. A frank and businesslike discussion took place.

He visited large enterprises in Vilnius: a drill works and the "50th anniversary of the USSR Vilnius fuel equipment works" association. A lively conversation took place with the collective at this enterprise. Each person who wished to do so was given an opportunity to speak.

Nikolay Slyunkov noted that the task now is to make the most sensible use of natural, material, and labor resources, and of the climatic features of each republic so as to include their potential in the all-union potential in the most rational way. This will, without doubt, be of advantage to each rayon and republic, and to the whole of our state as well, the CPSU Central Committee secretary emphasized.

Nikolay Slyunkov noted that during his stay in the republic, a not inconsiderable number of questions was asked concerning the draft laws on amendments and additions to the Constitution and on elections of USSR people's deputies, which have been put forward for nationwide discussion. "I wish to stress that the new provisions of the Constitution not only do not lessen, but considerably expand the rights of the union republics," the CPSU Central Committee secretary said.

Medvedev Arrives in Latvia on Visit

LD1111193988 Moscow TASS in English 1901 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Riga November 11 TASS—By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Shvarts:

To get to know the life in Latvia, work and problems of its people better, to learn about the specific features of the processes of perestroyka in Latvia—this is how member of the Politburo, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Vadim Medvedev summed up the aim of his visit to this Soviet Baltic republic. He arrived in Riga today. He started his working visit with placing flowers at the monument to Lenin in the central street of Riga.

Meetings with work collectives and party activists, conversations with students, social scientists are planned during Medvedev's familiarisation with the republic. There will be visits to an agricultural firm, to trading centres in the Latvian capital, to the museum of Lettish Red Rifles.

A conversation of the secretary of the CPSU Central committee with representatives of work collectives of Riga was held in a lively and unconstrained way with

mutual interest. The conversation started at the Alpha amalgamation where electronic instruments are manufactured and continued at Latvia's most prominent enterprise, VEF Amalgamation which manufactures radio equipment, quasi [as received] electronic telephone exchanges. These enterprises largely determine the charcter of Latvia's industry. Workers make up nearly 60 percent of Latvia's labour force.

In the years of the bourgeois rule, the republic was oriented mainly at agrarian production. Latvia's potential nowadays is determined by such industries as machine building, radio engineering, car building, chemical production. Latvia leads the country for per capita national income. A number of problems, however, came to light during perestroyka in the republic, Vadim Medvedev said in his speech. Democratisation, glasnost revealed them and made it possible to discuss most acute matters openly.

This was confirmed by speeches of workers, party activists at meetings at work collectives. Functionaries of the party apparatus of the republic were criticised for lack of a profoundly worked out program of solution, specifically, of such problems as the migration of labour, reorientation of Latvia's national economy, working out of a new economic model of regional cost-accounting, rallying all public forces of Latvia in the effort for the renewal of socialism.

During the conversation, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee gave special attention to the role and importance of the upsurge of the political activity of masses in Latvia. At the same time he pointed to a disconcerting phenomenon of delimitation of people according to nationality in some collectives during the setting up of various unofficial amalgamations. "In conditions of socialist pluralism it is necessary to be able to uphold our values, to rid society of everything alien that distorts socialism," Vadim Medvedev said.

Exchanging opinions, participants in the meeting spoke about the need to subjugate group ambitions to the interests of entire society in conditions of perestroyka. Questions of the political reform in the country, of upgrading Soviet constitutional legislation were also raised.

Moscow TV Shows Visit

LD1111203788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Democratization and glasnost have made it possible to discuss frankly the most acute matters relating to the political, economic, and social life in our country. This was dealt with at the meetings between [CPSU Central Committee Politburo member] Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev and the workers and managers of a number of major industrial enterprises in the town of Riga. Today he paid a visit to the production shops of the Alfa association, and talked with the workers.

During a thorough conversation that took place at the VEF association problems were touched upon relating to the consistent implementation of the radical economic reform, and the development of methods of genuine sovereignty for the people under conditions of the increased political activeness of the Soviet people.

Many of those who spoke talked about the need for a search for constructive solutions to the tasks existing in the republic without encroaching on the national interests on the peoples living in Latvia. Complaints were also voiced about the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, party committees, enterprises, and organizations for relaxing ideological and educational work in labor collectives.

Comrade Medvedev was asked a number of questions, in answering which he stressed that it is necessary to get down to practical deeds, and their implementation, more vigorously. [video shows Medvedev looking round production shop]

Medvedev Meets Working People

LD1211204888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] For 2 days now Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev has been meeting the working people of the capital of Soviet Latvia. [N. Kasyanova video report shows Medvedev talking to a group of people facing a stand with diagrams, then talking to people in the street]

[Begin recording] [Kasyanova] A sincere, frank, and profound conversation about complex processes of renewal in the spiritual life of the Republic, problems concerning interethnic relations, and economic restructuring is going on in the museum of Red Latvian Riflemen, with scientists, lecturers, students, and lawyers in the Latvian State University, and with Riga residents in the streets of the city. A conversation was also held today with the republican creative intelligentsia about the necessity to consolidate all forces for seeking constructive solutions to the tasks that are facing the republic without encroaching upon the national interests of all the peoples that reside in Latvia.

In his speech, Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev stressed that a moment of exceptional importance has arrived in restructuring when discussions alone, rally democratism alone, or simply arguments and emotions are already insufficient. We have learned a great deal from our history. We know that we must solve our problems and we know how to solve them. [video shows Medvedev talking to audience]

[Medvedev] There are issues on which ideological concessions are impossible, for they subvert our life, the foundations of our life. We wish to renew socialism. We want to rid it of distortions. We want to modernize it, on the basis of Lenin's heritage, his views and notions, and on the basis of modern experience, and the experience of socialist countries and world development, if you wish.

However, we will not waive our socialist choice, and we have no right to retreat from the positions as communists and citizens of our country.

[Kasyanova] Replying to questions concerning draft laws on amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution, and about the elections of people's deputies, the Central Committee secretary noted that their collective author is the 19th party conference. The documents have reflected the proposals and ideas that were expressed both at the actual conference and during the broad discussion that had preceded it. [video shows Medvedev talking to a group of people]

The draft laws that have been submitted for a public discussion are only the first step in the political reform. A consideration of the entire range of questions concerning relations between nationalities are next in line. This will be a subject of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum. It is necessary to make a study of varying viewpoints, not to ignore them, and to generalize many opinions and take into account the lawful interests of all the peoples of our country. [end recording]

Addresses Ideological Workers

PM1311191188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Nov 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Acting in the Spirit of Glasnost"]

[Text] Riga, 12 Nov—The main task of every Communist and every party organization at the present stage of revolutionary restructuring is to adopt an active stance and show greater initiative aimed at consolidating all working people for the creation of a society worthy of working people. This was said today at a meeting between V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Latvian SSR ideological workers.

It was noted that considerable efforts are now being made in the country to create a new system of power and management based on all-around development of democracy under the leading role of the party. It is necessary to enhance the authority of party committees and all ideologiocal workers, the participants in the meeting said. It is, after all, well known that wherever Communists act in the spirit of restructuring things go better and friction based on national or other grounds does not arise.

The meeting was addressed by V.A. Medvedev. He noted, in particular, that the enormous upsurge of public activeness, openness, and bold formulation, and the discussion of all worrisome questions, are an enormous achievement—the result of the new course of our party, the course of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th party conference.

If we are to be frank, we have obtained the results of restructuring primarily in ideology. In the sphere of glasnost, for example, a situation has been created which has never perhaps existed before. The renunciation of the methods of administrative interference and instruction and the explosion of glasnost and frankness have made Soviet people feel more confident; it has revealed the enormous potential of their creative activeness. The requisite conditions for solving social, economic, and political problems have thereby been created.

This party course will continue undeviatingly. But now, and many speakers have referred to this today, there arises the need to complement with practical deeds the turbulent discussions and activity of rallies [mitingovaniya]. We cannot stop; the trust extended to the party by the people must be supported by deeds, and above all by increasing people's prosperity.

However, we are also encountering today problems in the sphere of ideological work. A range of problems, feelings, and opinions have come to the surface. Negative phenomena have also manifest themselves. The basic values of our society and our gains have begun to be subject to erosion. Some people are endeavoring to question the correctness of our people's socialist choice, the Leninist ideological and theoretical legacy, and the union and friendship of our peoples.

We have discussed these problems with the leadership of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and have come to the conclusion that it is necessary to adopt on all questions of the republic's life and all problems of restructuring—which is a subject of pretty trenchant discussion and confrontation—a precise, clear, and, of course, realistic stance in the spirit of restructuring. And this stance must be more energetically defended by all like-minded Communists, all members of our party—all, irrespective of their national affiliation.

This will make it possible to overcome the centripetal tendencies, negative phenomena, and exacerbated contradictions, and shift the course of events toward constructive, harmonious work in the field of restructuring within the single international family of the peoples.

V.A. Medvedev also had meetings with workers, chairmen of industrial enterprises' labor collective councils, party committee secretaries, and economic leaders. Problems concerning the consistent implementation of

radical economic reform and the development of methods of genuine rule by the people under conditions of people's increased political activeness were dealt with in depth during these meetings.

Many speakers spoke of the need to seek constructive solutions to the tasks existing in the republic without infringing the national interests of any of the peoples living in Latvia. Criticism [zamechaniya] was made of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and the party committees of enterprises and organizations for slackening ideological and educational work in labor collectives. Attention was drawn, in particular, to the fact that the leading organs of Latvia have recently taken a number of hasty and ill-considered decisions without considering working people's interests or clarifying the opinions of enterprise leaders. V.A. Medvedev was asked a number of questions.

Replying to them, the CPSU Central Committee secretary noted that questions of the reform of the political system had now come to the fore. This has its own logic. We started with the economy and scientific and technical progress, but then saw that economic reform could not yield the required results without deepening our democracy. And it is necessary to start with the party as the kernel of the political system, and with the restoration and more accurate definition of its role as society's political vanguard.

Major steps have already been taken in this regard. The system of party organs and their apparatus, from central committee down to raykom, are being restructured. The party is getting rid of its extrinsic functions and is concentrating on the functions of political administration.

In reply to a question concerning the draft laws on amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution and elections of USSR people's deputies, the CPSU Central Committee secretary noted that it was the 19th party conference that was their collective author. The documents reflect the proposals and ideas expressed both at the actual conference and during the extensive discussion that preceded it.

The draft laws submitted for nationwide discussion are just the first step of political reform. Examination of the whole range of questions of interethnic relations is next in turn. This will be the topic of a CPSU Central Committee plenum which is to be held in the middle of next year. An enormous amount of work will be launched. And indeed it is already under way. It is necessary to study different points of view and not disregard them, to generalize many opinions, and take account of the legitimate interests of all the peoples of our country.

A considerable part of V.A. Medvedev's speech was devoted to questions concerned with the republic's social development, increasing economic independence, and switching to regional economic accountability [khozraschet]. It was noted that the economic problems are very closely interwoven here with questions of interethnic relations. I think, the CPSU Central Committee secretary stressed here, that the republic party organization, buttressed by the working class, can solve many problems on its own. All the potential necessary for this exists. You have vast traditions; the Latvian Red Riflemen were a force which in the most active way supported the October Revolution and ensured its development. I am certain that at the stage of restructuring, which is the direct continuation of the cause of October, the Latvian SSR working people will also work fittingly and with enormous energy, in conjunction with all our people, to ensure that restructuring wins a complete victory and leads to the solution of the problems confronting us and to the strengthening of our socialist state.

V.A. Medvedev stressed the significance of the political decisions and the platform of the 19th party conference for practical work based on the unity of interests of all Soviet people and representatives of all the peoples of our country. Party organizations must not hand restructuring over to those who do not in fact support it. Work with people constitutes the main and principal instrument of party influence. In this everyday work everything that introduces division into national relations must be eliminated. Confrontation is a dead end.

The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee leadership and party committees and ispolkoms must define their position more clearly and rest on the support of a broad aktiv. The fundamental values of socialism and the truths achieved through suffering by the Soviet people must be assigned prime importance in a more steady and consistent way. And these include internationalism. We grow stronger when we advance together and we are invincible when we act together.

The speaker also touched on the situation now prevailing in the republic's mass media. There have been quite a few cases where ill-considered things generating some reaction in people have gotten into the press or television broadcasts.

Extensive public dialogue and a search for that which brings people closer together rather than dividing them is essential. Unfortunately, the republic's soviets sometimes act in isolation from the leaders of enterprises, and Latvia's difficult history of recent decades is painted in exclusively somber colors, is skewed, and is used to cause dissension among people. It does no good when representatives of the press lose their sense of responsibility for what they say. The times are past when a loud shout was the method of party leadership of the mass media. But even with pluralism of opinions, newspapers, magazines, and television must show consideration and responsibility in their articles. The party organization must build relations with the press in such a way that this most powerful weapon serves only as a boon, stirs good thoughts and feelings, and spurs people to good deeds.

Nowadays everyone who is concerned with the fate of restructuring must by his words and above all by his actions help consolidate society and attain broad agreement in the work of implementing the decisions of the 19th party conference. But here we must not give vent to our emotions. They lead us far astray, V.A. Medvedev said. It is essential to tackle the problems by economic and ideological rather than administrative methods. It is also essential to find solutions to linguistic problems based on the real state of affairs, but doing so on the foundations of Leninist principles—and they are indeed simple—of no force or pressure regarding the linguistic attachment or affiliation of any person or nation. People's initiative must not be handed over to elemental forces. Initiative must be taken into account and directed into our channel, a channel which strengthens the socialist foundations of our society.

Greater activeness and pricipledness in implementing the party line are required from Communists. They must be wherever work is under way, wherever the truth is becoming established amid dispute and struggle, wherever people are seeking their place in restructuring. And here very much depends on the sensitivity of the stance adopted by every party member and on his skill in upholding it and readiness to do so.

Speaks on Agricultural Subsidies

LD1311222988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

The visits to the Baltic by comrades Medvedev to Latvia, Slyunkov to Lithuania, and Chebrikov to Estonia continue.

Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev visited the major Jekabpils agro-association in the Latvian SSR.

[N. Kasyanova—identified from screen caption] Farmers in the Jekabpilskiy Rayon, having left the Rayon Agricultural Production Organization, were the first in the republic to create an agro-industrial association which has linked all kolkhozes and sovkhozes, processing and service enterprises with their common interests. The 25th CPSU Congress Agro-Firm has become the head enterprise. The recently formed agro-association is already showing its advantages. The people of Jekabpils are mastering new methods of management—self-recoupment and self-financing.

The farmers asked the secretary of the Central Committee a lot of questions about things that are worrying them. In the last 15 years the production of meat in the republic has gone up by 1.5 times, thanks to people's assiduous labor, but deliveries into the general union fund have risen by nearly three times. Doesn't such an obsolete method put a brake on production rates and go against the principles of economic reform and financial autonomy? Leaseholders are invited to the village, but they can't actually be provided with construction materials. How long will it take for the country to solve the food problem? Only when we have embarked on its solution with all measures and all together, said Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev.

[Begin Medvedev recording] In the republic as a whole, half the peasant families do not have cows, and one-third of them have no animals at all. Is it really normal for peasants to stop keeping animals and to prefer to buy meat? And at prices at which every kg includes R2 of state subsidy? Comrades, it's not all so simple here. These problems must be dealt with, and dealt with on the spot. The problems must be solved by bringing local reserves into action, not forgetting that this is a common economy, to which each person makes their contribution. [end recording]

CPSU Central Committee Considers 'Questions'

On Nationalities Plenum

PM1211182388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian Second Edition 12 Nov p 1

["At the CPSU Central Committee]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has considered the question concerning preparations for a CPSU Central Committee Plenum "On Improving Interethnic [Mezhnatsionalnyy] Relations in the USSR," which is to be held in the middle of 1989.

The adopted resolution notes that under conditions of restructuring, democratization, and the creation of a law-governed state the tasks of improving interethic relations are assuming special importance and urgency.

Over the years of Soviet power, work of historic significance has been carried out in the USSR to resolve the nationalities question. Impressive results have been attained in ensuring actual equality among nations and ethnic groups, and in strengthening fraternal relations between peoples, and internationalist education among the working people. They are a matter of legitimate pride for all Soviet people. At the same time, quite a few questions have gradually accrued in this area which need to be tackled.

In this connection, the document sets the task of drawing lessons from the past, of raising the entire work standard on improving interethnic relations to a new level, and working out effective measures to implement the Leninist nationalities policy at this juncture in history.

The main thing is to attain genuine harmony in the interests of all the country's national and ethnic groups based on the principles of socialist internationalism, independence and responsibility, mutual aid and fraternity, and to ensure the strengthening and development of our state which is a multinatonal union.

The CPSU Central Committee considers preparations for the forthcoming Central Committee plenum as a highly important matter for all party committees and organizations, and for every Communist. This work should be based on the political directives of the 19th all-union party conference.

It is necessary to undertake energetic actions and to remove acute problems that complicate the situation, particularly in the social sphere, and in the development of national culture and language. It is important not to let slip the initiative of raising and tackling the urgent problems; to overcome the lagging behind in the practical work of party organizations in the processes that are occurring in public consciousness; to take up really vanguard positions in the nationwide cause of renewing socialism; it is essential to go into labor collectives more bravely and to speak to people openly, advocating the party policy; relying on the force of conviction and the authority of the law, to counter any attempts aimed at shifting natural national feelings into a destructive channel of nationalism or taking advantage of expanding democracy and glasnost in anti-democratic interests; and not to allow any discreditation of our common internationalist gains. It has been recommended that the Union Republic Communist Party Central Committees; the kraykoms and obkoms; the party committees of the autonomous republics; of autonomous oblasts; and autonomous okrugs hold consultations in party organizations and labor collectives with representatives of the public, scientists, writers, journalists, and specialists who are working on the problems of interethnic relations.

It is necessary to fully disseminate the ideas that are expressed during conversations, to take into account specific proposals aimed at strengthening international unity in our society, and the improvement of interethnic relations.

The result of the work must be an analysis of practical policy in the nationalities questions throughout the years of Soviet power. It must reflect the achievements that are to be found here, and also special features in the socio-economic and cultural development of individual regions, and the causes of the difficulties and problems that have accrued. It is also important to work toward implementing the main demands of various national groups; to take into account specific proposals aimed at enhancing both integrational processes, the self-reliance, and responsibility of union republics and autonomous formations in the spheres of the economy, social and cultural development, and government; and to express thoughts on necessary practical measures toward improving the patriotic and internationalist education of all levels of the population, in particular young people.

The CPSU Central Committee recognizes it as necessary to prepare proposals on the introduction of amendments and additions to the operating Soviet legislation which is regulating questions concerning interethnic relations, including problems such as the improvement of the Soviet Socialist Federation; developing the legal status of the union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, and autonomous okrugs; a more clearly defined demarcation of the competence of the USSR and the union republics; the expansion of legal guarantees in implementing the national and cultural demands of Soviet citizens who live outside the borders of their national state formations or who have none; stepping up the liability for whipping up national division, and for preaching racial or national exclusivity. Measures have been outlined with regard to preparing the USSR draft law on the free development and use—based on equal rights—of the languages of the USSR's peoples; of a new edition of the law on USSR citizenship; and proposals on introducing appropriate amendments into the USSR constitution and the constitutions of the union and autonomous republics. The amendments and additions must also cover the new functions of the USSR Supreme Soviet of Nationalities Council, and the procedure for the formations, if necessary, of permanent commissions on questions concerning interethnic relations in any soviets of people's deputies.

It was also acknowledged as being essential that the relevant state bodies and scientific establishments carry out a detailed analysis of the problems of the union republics and autonomous formations within the system of the country's integrated national economy; the regional division of labor; the rights and obligations of the republics, of union, and local bodies in improving the economic situation and ensuring a rational exploitation of nature; the true contribution of each union republic to the economy of the union as a whole; and the production and distribution of national income in the context of the republics.

The possibility and economic expediency of republics and regions transferring to the principles of financial autonomy must be made the topic of a detailed analysis. To be examined are ways of developing direct links between union republics; the combination of greater economic independence for the union republics and the autonomous formations and their responsibility for meeting the requirements of the country as a whole; the mechanism for forming and utilizing the USSR state budget, the state budgets of the union republics, and local budgets; and ways of effective interaction between the territorial organs of control and the ministries and departments of the USSR and enterprises subordinated to the union.

Instructions have been given to the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and to the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee, with the participation of the creative unions and culture departments, to organize broad discussion and to elaborate on appropriate proposals for ideologically securing the nationalities policy of the CPSU; for developing the theory of interethnic relations; for the flourishing and mutual enrichment of national cultures; for improvement in the work of the mass informaton media and the creative organizations

in patriotic and internationalist education; and to examine a proposal that a scientific- research center be established for the integrated study of topical problems of interethnic relations.

The editorial boards of central newspapers and journals, republican party publications, and the USSR state television and radio are instructed to organize the broad publication of material with regard to questions on the theory of interethnic relations; of experience in solving the nationalities question in the USSR and abroad; to report constantly and from all sides the economic and spiritual life of the Soviet republics and autonomous formations; and to draw particular attention to the creation in society of a spiritual atmosphere conducive to the strengtening of internationalist unity, friendship, and fraternity among the Soviet peoples.

The CPSU Central Committee shall be informed about proposals on all issues linked with the nationalities problems which are received by local party organizations, ideological departments, the editorial boards of the central newspapers and journals, and USSR state television and radio.

The theses of the report at the plenum will be published 2 months before it is convened.

Medvedev, Lukyanov on Media Role

LD1011211288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1905 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, 10 Nov (TASS)—A conference of heads of the mass information media, ideological establishments, and creative unions has been held in the CPSU Central Committee. Taking part in it were Vadim Medvedev, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and chairman of the Ideological Commission of the CPSU Central Committee; and Anatoliy Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The essence of the present stage in the renewal of society, emphasized Vadim Medvedev, is determined by the decisions of the 19th party conference and the practical steps that have been taken by the Central Committee. The unique nature of this moment was defined by Mikhail Gorbachev at the meeting with the heads of the mass information media, ideological establishments, and creative unions on 23 September this year. It consists in the fact that it is now time to get down to more solid work on the practical issues of restructuring and to transfer the center of gravity from debates and arguments, from the "democratism of endless talking" to the tackling of specific tasks and to constructive work. Unless we do this, restructuring will suffer great losses. Such an approach by no means signifies a renunciation of the policy of glasnost, criticism, and self-criticism. This alone, however, is no longer enough.

In many ways the mass information media are now having to work in a new way, because new phenomena are making a tumultuous entry into our everyday life. To take the economic sphere, for instance, the main thing there now consists not so much in the organizational or even the economic forms of financial autonomy, as in restructuring property relations and in overcoming people's alienation from the public means of production. The main way ahead in this direction has been found: various forms of leasing, cooperatives, and financial autonomy. But not all prejudices here have been overcome yet. Journalists have to convincingly demonstrate to all working people that leasing relations, not only in the country and in the services sector, but also in industry, including major industry, do not in the least contradict the socialist principles of economic life. These new forms unite people with public property and transform them into the real master. There is no more vitally important task today than food supplies, saturation [of the market] with consumer goods, and housing construction. This must become an area of priority in journalists' work.

Vadim Medvedev went on to dwell on problems of relations between nationalities. Articles in the central press on this theme are not always sufficently deep, well thought out, or dialectical. Occasionally, they create very cheering and superficial impressions about rather complicated processes. Such publications disorientate public opinion.

This sphere requires constant attention from the mass media. One should not avoid acute problems. Help must be given in tackling them. Here it is important to take everything into consideration—the contemporary level of the development of the country as a whole and of each republic, the level of people's national consciousness, and public opinion. And at the same time one must not forget the principles of the Leninist nationalities policy of the party, the interests of the whole multinational state, or the strengthening of the fraternal union of the peoples of the USSR.

Vadim Medvedev noted that the further deepening of the democratization of internal party, ideological work, and the expansion of glasnost are an enormous achievement of restructuring. These are the levers of restructuring which have been successful in radically altering the psychological situation in the country. At the same time, these very powerful levers must be used skilfully. Glasnost should be of maximum advantage to restructuring, and to the strengthening of the foundations of socialism.

We are moving toward a state based on the rule of law, and we are taking steps in that direction. Obviously, this should also touch upon the work of the mass media. A draft law on the press has now been prepared. However, the high level of party responsibility of the heads of the mass media and their active civic position are the main thing.

Anatoliy Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, who spoke next, provided information about the course of the discussion of the draft laws on the changes and additions to the constitution of the USSR, on the elections of people's deputies of the USSR. More than 80,000 comments from citizens, collectives, public organizations, and local soviets have reached the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Positive evaluations of the drafts, put forward for discussion by the whole people, are predominant. However, a range of questions are giving rise to lively discussion and demand much deeper explanation.

Anatoliy Lukyanov noted the exceptionally important role of the press in discussing the questions connected with the change of the constitution and the law on elections. It is important that the pages of newspapers, radio and television programs should not reflect one-sided judgements. Different points of view should be presented. Continuing the good tradition that has grown up over the last 3 years, we must go further along the road of developing glasnost, criticism, and people's initiative.

In conclusion, the leaders of the mass media were informed about the coming events in the public and political life of the party and country.

Politburo Discusses Political System Reform
PM1111120588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Nov Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee Politburo"]

[Text] In the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. The focus of attention of the latest session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, held 10 November, were topical questions of the reform of the political system being implemented in line with the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference.

A report was heard on the progress of the nationwide discussion of USSR draft laws on changes and additions to the USSR Constitution and on elections of USSR People's Deputies. The discussion of these important documents is assuming an increasingly broad and committed nature. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has to date received more than 80,000 responses from individual citizens and organizations. The opinions of experts and a wide circle of working people is being reflected in newspaper articles and in radio and television discussions.

The overwhelming majority of responses approve of the draft laws, and at the same time many amendments and amplifications are being submitted. There are also individual statements against a number of provisions of the drafts.

An exchange of views was held on the essence of the matters raised in the course of nationwide discussion. It was stressed that the most scrupulous account needed to be made of the remarks, many of which are useful and unarguable, and that not a single argument must be left without attention. This work is already under way in the legislative proposals commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and it must be stepped up.

The Politburo session expressed the certainty that the further unfolding of the nationwide discussion would create the preconditions for the successful implementation of the first stage of political reform, on which the whole process of democratization of our society in large measure depends.

It was also noted that many of the proposals that have come in step outside the framework of questions concerning the realization of the tasks of the first stage of reform, when the intention is to bring in only those additions to the Constitution on whose basis the reorganization of the highest bodies of power is to be effected, and a law on the procedure for elections of people's deputies is to be adopted.

As is known, it is intended to resolve other major tasks at subsequent stages of the political changes.

They include the harmonization of relations between the USSR and the union republics. Subsequently, it is intended to thoroughly discuss the questions of the status of the union and autonomous republics, to extend their rights and opportunities in various spheres of economic, social, political, and cultural life. A great deal of work has already been done in preparation for a Central Committee plenum specially devoted to this topic. Party and state bodies of republics, scientific institutions, and the broad public are taking an active part in it.

A draft law on local self-government and local economy [mestnoye samoupravleniye i mestnoye khozyaystvo], which is being prepared in line with the directives of the 19th party conference, is also connected with the implementation of the tasks of subsequent stages of the political reform. A report on the progress of work on this document was also examined at the Politburo session. It was stressed that the principal purpose of this most important legislative act is to create the material and legal conditions needed to ensure that the soviets can in practice resolve all questions of local life and act as bodies of popular self-government enjoying full powers. This presupposes the implementation of large-scale measures to introduce regional financial autonomy and to set up an effective mechanism of administration that orientates local bodies toward drawing all the resources on their territory into economic circulation.

The session discussed proposals on the standing commissions of the CPSU Central Committee in various areas of domestic and foreign policy, their composition and manner of working.

Certain changes have been made to the composition of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission for the additional study of materials connected with the repressions that occurred in the period of the 1930s, 1940s, and early 1950s. The membership of the commission has been confirmed as follows:

Comrade Yakovlev, chairman. Comrades Medvedev, Chebrikov, Lyukyanov, Razumovskiy, Pugo, Kryuchkov, Boldin, and Smirnov.

The commission was also instructed to examine and submit proposals on the question of perpetuating the memory of, and the places of burial of, the victims of repressions.

The Politburo session considered certain questions of international politics.

PRAVDA Said To Alter Politburo Photo

PM1011112788 London DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 10 Nov 88 p 14

[Dispatch "By Xan Smiley in Moscow": "Clue That Wasn't Fools Kremlin Watchers"]

[Text] When Vadim Medvedev, Russia's new ideology boss, was chopped out of the photograph of the Soviet Politburo in Tuesday's PRAVDA, seasoned Kremlinologists sniffed political blood.

But it is barely conceivable that Medvedev can already be in disgrace. More simply, the pattern of Kremlinology is changing, and it is unwise to place the same emphasis as in the past on the minutiae of protocol and PRAVDA's photographic editing.

Some years ago the blotting out of a leading figure from a formal photograph meant something was politically amiss. In Stalin's day it could herald a blotting out from life itself.

Medvedev apparently committed the gaffe of saluting a military march-past, along with five generals, while other civilians kept their hands down.

"But he wasn't saluting the whole time," retorts the puzzled Kremlinologist.

It could just have been that there wasn't room, in the camera's frame. At a pinch.

"Maybe," says the old-guard watcher. "But I bet Medvedev's bloody angry."

Russian Supreme Soviet Session Resumes 11 Nov

LD1111082288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] The ninth session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation is continuing its work in the great Kremlin Palace in Moscow. The deputies and the guests welcomed comrades Gorbachev, Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Nikonov, Ryzhkov, Shevardnadze, Biryukova, Vlasov, Lukyanov, Razumovskiy, Talyzin, and Yazov, with applause.

Lomonosov Addresses Supreme Soviet

LD1111105488 Moscow TASS in English 1038 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—TASS correspondents report from the Kremlin:

There are now substantial reserves for increasing the share of the Russian Federation's national income, used for accumulation and consumption, the Soviet trade union leadership believes.

Vladimir Lomonosov, deputy chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU), put forward the AUCCTU's proposals for the draft plan of socio-economic development of the russian Federation for 1989, which is the subject of discussion at the session of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of that biggest Soviet republic, which opened in the Kremlin on Thursday.

The share of the consumption fund in the national income of the republic so far lags behind the average level in the USSR. "This substantially brings down the social orientation of the plan," said Lomonosov. But a partial adjustment in favour of consumption funds is possible—according to the results of the work of the Russian Federation's national economy over 9 months of the current year, the national income increased by 5.3 percent, in comparison with the corresponding period last year, as against 4.3 percent planned. "This favourable tendency could well be taken into account in order to somewhat increase the share of the consumption fund," he underlined.

Vladimir Lomonosov dwelt on the state of affairs in training cadres for the national economy, noting that it is giving rise to "profound concern and anxiety." "Specialists' estimates show that it is the low professional level of people who actually do the job that accounts for 70 percent of the waste and one in every three cases of equipment breakage," he underlined. This is largely the result of insufficient material facilities of Soviet vocational training schools. There will not be built enough vocational training schools, though the draft state budget of the Russian Federation for 1989 provides for the allocation of 20,500 million roubles for education, or over 16 percent of the sum of all its expenditures.

On behalf of the AUCCTU Vladimir Lomonosov requested the State Planning Committee of the Russian Federation, the ministries and the departments of the republic to turn back to plans of building vocational training schools and find a possibility for redressing the situation.

Agricultural Development Debated

LD1111105388 Moscow TASS in English 1009 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—TASS correspondents report from the Kremlin:

The agricultural development issue has given rise to the keenest polemic during the dicussion of a state plan and a budget of the Russian Federation, the largest of the Soviet Union's republics, for 1989 in the republic's Supreme Soviet (parliament) which is in session in the Kremlin for the second day.

Practically every speaker voiced dissatisfaction with the planned development rate and the unbalanced approach to a solution to some problems of the agri-industrial sector of the Russian Federation.

Under the draft state plan and budget, it is planned to allocate 51,000 million roubles, or 40 per cent of the entire amount of the republic's budget, for the needs of agriculture in 1989. This is 6.6 per cent more than in the previous year. At the same time a shortage of food is felt in a majority of towns and settlements of the republic, and some types of meat, dairy and other products are sold at fixed amounts with a view to distributing them evenly among population.

At present a quarter of the harvest of farm products in the Russian Federation is irretrievably lost during storage and processing. It is necessary to increase the budget of the agri-industrial sector by channelling additional funds precisely into ensuring the preservation of the harvest through the modernization of storage facilities and the manufacture of up-to-date processing machinery. Such proposal was made, for example, by deputy Ivan Cherepanov, chairman of the Planning and Budgetary Commission of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation.

Will 'monetary injections' ensure intensification of the development of agriculture of the Russian Federation? Deputy Mikhail Vagin, chairman of a collective farm from Gorkiy region, believes that it is essential, to begin with, to raise the prestige of the worker of the agrarian sector, to abolish the command-and-administer style of managing agriculture by granting the personnel of agrarian production units the right to decide themselves upon priorities of the development of their farms. "Let us devote more attention to inculcating in the person the sense of the master of the land which he tills," he said to the applause of the deputies to the republic's parliament.

Mikhail Vagin also suggested that agri-industrial complexes be set up everywhere in the republic for them to be able to deal not only with the growing of farm products but also with their full processing and with the development and manufacture of farm and processing machinery. "This will make it possible to overcome seasonal character in the work of rural farms," he said upon telling about the efficiency of such a complex which had already been set up in Gorkiy region.

Many deputies to the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation emphasized the need for a larger-scale development of the system of lease arrangements and other forms of contract which the republic began actively to practise this year.

Draft Budget Examined

LD1111153388 Moscow TASS in English 1507 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—TASS correspondent's report from the Kremlin:

Social programmes hold a priority place in the economy of the Russian Federation. This is how the draft state plan and budget for 1989 of the biggest republic of the USSR can be summed up. They have been discussed for the second day at the session of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the Russian Federation.

The proportion of the development of branches in the material area attests to the priority of social programmes. The increment of the output of consumer goods will be six percent next year, while that in the heavy industry will be 3.2 percent. The wages of factory and office workers, of workers in agriculture will be raised. The real incomes of the population are planned to grow by 3.3 percent. 58 billion roubles, or nearly half of total expenditures under the republic's budget, are to be allocated for the solution of social and cultural tasks.

But it is precisely draft social programmes that caused the acutest polemic at the parliament's session. Many deputies voiced in their speeches dissatisfaction with the rates of the development of the social area, made specific proposals to correct the plans. Thus chief physician of a sanatorium in the Leningrad region, Nina Fedorova, said that "vast efforts are needed so that the medical services for which 12.5 billion roubles are allocated in 1989 (an increase of eleven percent on this year) should cease to cause so many cases criticism of the population."

Some two million people in Russia are absent from work because of illness every day. Nina Fedorova noted that the construction of clinics and out-patients' clinics in the republic lasts too long. She proposed to introduce a system of material responsibility of enterprises for working conditions of their personnel.

The housing problem is another sore problem of the republic. Over 1.35 million flats are to be open to tenancy by the end of 1989. Thus, there will be 16.1 square metres of floor space per every citizen of the republic.

Mikhail Knyazyuk, first secretary of the Ivanovo regional committee of the CPSU, expressed doubts about the reality of these plans, saying that there was a two percent shortfall in the implementation of the plan for housing construction this year. "An executive at every level, who fails to fulfil the social programme, first of all the programme of housing construction, has no right to hold a leading post," he said.

A suggestion was made to ministries and agencies of the republic whose representatives attended the session that the base of house-building should be developed at a faster pace, and that forms of building one-family houses and cooperative construction on the funds of the population be widened.

"No one is exempt from personal responsibility to voters by democracy," these were the opening words of a speech that Hazhbikar Bokov, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Republic, delivered at the session of the parliament of the Russian Federation. He urged deputies to promote by their personal effort the enhancement of the role of soviets in the development of socialist self-government and implementation of social programmes.

Session Ends With Passing of Laws

LD1111145788 Moscow TASS in English 1448 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—The session of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the Russian Federation, the biggest Soviet republic, has ended in the Kremlin today with the passing of the Russian Federation's laws on the State Plan for Economic and Social Development of the Russian Federation and Russian Federation's State Budget for 1989. The passing of the laws was preceded by a two-day-long discussion of the documents at the plenary meetings and at the standing commissions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. 130 Deputies took part in the discussion.

The deputies admitted [as received] that the plan of development of the Russian Federation and its budget for the next year as a whole accord with the guidelines for perfecting the USSR's economic mechanism, which were elaborated at the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th party conference. A number of adjustment proposals were made, and they were taken into account in the final wording of these documents.

Deputies pointed to enhanced social orientation of the main economic laws of the republic for 1989. The state budget plans to allocate 58,000 million roubles (almost half of the sum of its expenditure articles) for housing construction, food programme, public health and education. The increment in production of consumer goods is planned to be 6 percent and means of production—3.2 percent.

More Supreme Soviet Deputies Present Speeches

Urals Construction Minister Bashilov

PM1011132988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 3

["Abbreviated account" of "Speech by Deputy S.V. Bashilov, of Barguzinskiy Electoral Okrug, Buryat ASSR," USSR minister of construction in the Urals and West Siberia Regions, at 28 Oct 1988 morning session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities in the Great Kremlin Palace, Moscow]

[Text] In the report of the USSR Gosplan serious shortcomings in the investment process and in the operation of the economic mechanism in capital construction were noted. In our view it is necessary under the conditions of the new economic mechanism to enhance the role of contractual relations between the client and the contractor, and to tighten the responsibility of clients for the timely provision of construction projects with technical documentation and equipment. In order to prevent the dissipation of capital investments on numerous projects, it is proposed to introduce changes in the administration of investments, replacing centrally allocated capital investments by credits granted to client enterprises, who then pay them back from their profits. In order to gear construction and installation organizations more to the end results of their work, the procedure for settling accounts for work carried out should be changed, making provision for the payment of work on construction sites and projects within 1 year of their commissioning.

Client enterprises' labor collectives play an active part in the completion of housing projects. At the same time, the current contract-free system under which territorial organizations of the USSR Gossnab supply construction materials is hampering the progress of construction work. Deliveries of these materials are carried out literally just before projects are due to be commissioned which leads to rushed, low-quality work and in many cases jeopardizes the commissioning of projects on time. It must be noted that particularly great difficulties arose in September-October of the current year, and the situation as regards the provision of projects with equipment before the end of the year is not clear either.

Many production projects which are due to be commissioned have still not been supplied with the necessary production equipment. With the transfer of USSR Gossnab main administrations for the supply of equipment, instruments, cables, and other goods to sectorial ministries, the equipment supply system has been disrupted and the provision of production equipment to projects earmarked for commissioning has deteriorated rather than improved.

The fulfillment of the tasks laid down in the draft plan for 1989 will depend on the provision of construction sites with worker cadres, and also on the enhanced stability of construction teams. Unfortunately, many unsolved problems have accumulated in this sphere of late. Furthermore, the draft plan for 1989 which is being discussed makes provision for meeting the requirement of construction organizations for labor through the hire of unskilled labor either locally or from so-called organized sources. At the same time, only 13 percent of the requirement for skilled labor—that is vocational and technical school graduates—is to be met. The USSR State Committee for Public Education makes provision in the plan for 1989 for training only some 14,000 construction workers at a core of 120 construction-oriented vocational and technical schools, whereas at least 50,000 such workers could and should be trained at these establishments. We ask the USSR Council of Ministers to reconsider the question of the transfer to construction ministries of the core of construction-oriented vocational and technical schools so that we can make maximum use of their potential and provide construction organizations with skilled construction workers.

The draft plan makes no provision for the supply to collectives of the necessary construction machinery and mechanisms. The number of mechanisms and trucks whose service life has expired will, as in previous years, increase further in 1989. This also applies to the production equipment of the construction materials industry, the requirement for which is being met only 50-60 percent. We fail to understand why the draft plan does not make provision for fully utilizing the machine-building capacities created in the construction complex, and why not all the requisite basic machinery, accessories, machine tools, and rolled metal are distributed.

It was noted in the conclusion of the Plan and Budget Commissions and deputies' speeches that the dissipation of capital investments on numerous projects continues in the sphere of capital construction. This is true also of the USSR Ministry of Construction in the Urals and West Siberia Regions. We support the commissions' recommendations that the breadth of construction work be reduced and forces and resources concentrated on projects which are nearing completion.

Kazakh Official Bashmakov

PM1411112988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 3

["Abbreviated account" of speech by Deputy Ye.F. Bashmakov, first deputy chairman of Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers, of Chapayevskiy Electoral Okrug, Uralsk Oblast, at 28 October second afternoon sesssion of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union in the Great Kremlin Palace, Moscow]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Deputies!

Positive changes are taking place, difficulties are being overcome, and progressive trends are being reinforced in the economy in Kazakhstan as throughout the country. The decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the CPSU Central Committee July and September (1988) Plenums lent powerful new impetus to all the work of restructuring.

However, I must say that, given the demands of the time, the vitally important tasks of restructuring are not being resolved dynamically everywhere. Restructuring has highlighted many new problems and created difficult situations in a number of cases. But despite this, the main thing is clear—restructuring enjoys unanimous support among the republic's working people and has become an irreversible phenomenon in our life.

We assess critically the results of work and we see that the requisite qualitative changes in economic development have still not been ensured and production is still cost-based. As a result, a number of sectors are not working smoothly. In industry, according to the results of work for the January-September period this year, the machine building complex has been allowed to fall behind.

Lack of balance between production plans and resources is continuing to have an adverse effect. Despite the main contract organizations' fulfillment of construction plans, construction sites' supply of resources, even from stocks, is still extremely unsatisfactory.

The work of USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry enterprises in the republic is arousing disquiet. Thus, Alma-Ata's plant named for the 20th anniversary of October, which is one of the main lathe manufacturers, was declared insolvent by a bank this September with all the ensuing consequences. USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building enterprises also found themselves in a difficult situation. Despite our frequent appeals to the ministry, the question of the prospects for developing the Pavlodar Tractor Plant has still not been resolved. The plant manufactures outmoded tractors. Costly cosmetic measures to replace cabs and certain assemblies not only have not resolved the problem of boosting the tractor's technical level but have upset the work of the collective of 20,000 members in the bargain.

The USSR Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building Kentau Excavator Plant has been working badly for a long time. The plan for the first 9 months this year has only been 47 percent fulfilled solely because of unsatisfactory internal department cooperation, which is leading to loss of stability in the labor collective. That is why from our session's lofty rostrum we are once again asking the leadership of these ministries to help in resolving questions of normalizing the work of enterprises and sectors located in Kazakhstan in the light of the prospects for their development.

The ecological situation that has taken shape in a number of industrial centers is arousing great concern. Following the republic's proposals, the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a number of resolutions of vital importance for us aimed at environmental protection.

Similar decisions have also been taken by some union ministries. This has somewhat improved the environment. However, the situation is still complex. The press and health organs, guided by data from analytical studies and numerous letters from working people, have raised the question of urgently and rapidly reconstructing USSR Ministry of the Production of Mineral Fertilizers phosphorus plants, the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry "Karbid" Association, and a number of USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy enterprises.

It is a question of fulfilling decisions that have been adopted previously. However, the aforementioned ministries are not reacting properly to the questions that have been raised and feel no sense of responsibility. They are allocated such miserly capital investments that the reconstruction may drag on for many years.

I would like to point out that the activity of the soviets is continuing to be mobilized further today. Their rights for planning social development indicators on the appropriate territory have been broadened. Work to share funds for constructing housing and social facilities has been intensified.

The last few years have also made it possible to draw certain conclusions. Many local soviets are not fully exercising their coordinating role. The time and restructuring necessitate further backup ensuring the sovereignty of the soviets. Evidently, an unequivocal assessment cannot be given of the actions of Dzhezkazgan Oblast's Zhanaarkinskiy Rural Soviet, which opposed the commissioning of an oil refinery without the provision of the housing and sociocultural and living amenities envisaged by the draft. This local soviet has rebelled against two union departments—the USSR Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises and the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry—which has rocked all the republic's public and the mass media and necessitated interference from the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet commission.

Legislative acts are needed to create new relations between the soviets and enterprises on a clear juridical, legal, organizational, and economic footing and based on strict financial commitments.

The demarcation of functions between party and state organs requires the further resolution of questions of the reform of the political system, their reciprocal linkage with the principles of economic reform, and the creation of conditions of financial and material independence for the soviets.

Draft Laws 'Vigorously Discussed' by Deputies

PM1011160188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Nov 88 Second Edition p 3

[V. Khatuntsev "Reportage From the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium": "Lawmaking"]

[Text] The USSR draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and the USSR draft Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies are being vigorously discussed within the country. It is extremely noteworthy that in the last few years we have not only talked "with unanimous support and approval" but have also learned to analyze and argue our viewpoints and take a real part in elaborating decisions.

At a general meeting of her collective L. Ushakova, leading specialist at the Azerbaijan SSR Gosstroy Construction and Architecture Research Institute, proposed inserting an amendment in the draft regarding the need for the chairmen of soviets of all levels to take an oath or a vow. An interesting proposal. That doesn't happen in our country, but people taking up a post are sworn in in some other states. I don't know how the meeting reacted to their colleague's speech, but I did observe an interesting reaction to this proposal in a Kremlin office.

Proposals and comments on the draft laws—they are all examined carefully in the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium by specially created working groups—are flooding in from Baku, Magadan, and the boondocks.

"Our group includes well known lawyers and academics; they work together with senior CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium personnel," Doctor of Juridical Sciences Prof V. Vasilyev said. "Experts in legislation—an academician, five doctors, and candidates of sciences—who are quick to grasp the essence of the information and find a common language quite rapidly—though I will stress particularly that this does not mean that complete unanimity reigns within the group—have been gathered together. You can't avoid polemics. It is a question of amendments to the draft fundamental law according to which the country has to live, form legislation, and regulate relations between the organs of power and the place and role of public organizations in the system of people's power. That is why maximum competence is needed and, I would say, breadth of vision regarding the implementation of the political reform of society and ways leading to a rule-of-law state. The work is as interesting as it is crucial and painstaking, down to specifying where to put a particular comma."

I will add to Vsevolod Ivanovich's tale that the flood of information is so great and diverse that nonspecialists could not cope with the volume. It comes from several sources. Including letters sent straight to the Kremlin and the government, press articles—including in city and rayon newspapers—excerpts from radio and television speeches, and lengthy reports listing comments and proposals sent to Moscow by union republic Supreme Soviet Presidiums. There are also citizens' appeals to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium reception office. You would think that there is more than enough material, but the members of the working group also make observations of their own. The following kind of phrase was heard on several occasions during the session: I was invited to give a lecture yesterday and a student had a question regarding the draft....

I can attest that the opinions of thousands of our fellow citizens are analyzed here in a most intent and interested fashion. Moreover, the discussion is not reduced to an automatic "yea or nay" procedure. It is lively discussion by experts with conspicuous emotion, sparkling erudition, and references to past experience and other countries' traditions. I admit that as a reporter you rarely feel such satisfaction as when you manage to follow your interlocutors' train of thought, anticipating the sequence of counterarguments and unexpected comparisons.

Now a word about the essence of the discussion in the working group, as far as is possible. Of course, quite trivial comments must also be examined which for the most part repeat statutes that have already been adopted previously or whose nature clearly does not fit in with such a fundamental document as the Constitution. But on the whole the working group analyzes questions that are out of the ordinary in some way: Both the press and republic soviet workers try to select weighty material to study, including material that even goes beyond framework of the draft law.

For instance, Doctor of Economic Sciences A. Atayev, Dagestan ASSR administrator of affairs, proposes providing members of the government with immunity similar to deputies' and also introducing badges inscribed "USSR Government, RSFSR," and so on.

Silence reigned in the room for about half a minute after this paragraph was read from a list of proposals that ran into pages: You can't think straightaway how to answer this. Suddenly someone burst out laughing: "Ministers don't want to forgo their status, I see; it may be only a badge, but give me it...."

"We need precise and well-founded wording," V. Vasilyev reminded the group. Later he frequently asked people to express themselves more laconically and in a businesslike fashion. Then the group will submit a final draft that will also be documented: The proposal and a kind of brief commentary as to why it can or cannot be accepted for more thorough study. There must be a clear and strict resolution on each point. The group is described as a working group since it is preparing material for the deputies' subcommission formed 25 October by the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers' Legislative Proposals Commissions, which will meet soon to examine the amendments to and comments on the draft laws. But the deputies' commission will by no means be in possession of only screened material: The working groups will present everything in their possession—but with their commentaries—which will enable the deputies to effectively grasp the various opinions and views. Suppose A. Atayev's proposal catches someone's fancy? The lawyers' opinion is to hand. The working group deemed the proposal inappropriate because deputies elected by the people rather than people appointed to posts have the right to immunity. As for badges, the Constitution makes no stipulations regarding their introduction.

At the very start of the working group session a proposal was read out for the formulas "as a rule," "not less," "not more," and "up to" to be excluded from the entire text of the draft law, that is for all norms to be expounded specifically. The skillful lawyers did not express a definite opinion: Let's read on and have a look. What happened? In a few hours they reached a comment from L. Vysochinaya, a seamstress from Crimea Oblast. She proposes that Article 111, Section 5 of the draft law read as follows: "The USSR Congress of People's Deputies annually renews not less than one-fifth of the composition of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities." What does the draft say? "Up to one-fifth...." Members of the working group fell to thinking. The letterwriter is concerned about real rotation within the USSR Supreme Soviet and her clarification is quite correct. For what does "up to one-fifth" mean? It may be 2 people or 10, and this provides an opportunity for limitations. That is why the group unanimously deemed the proposal sensible: The phrase "no less than one-fifth...." is more precise.

Many disputes are aroused by the clause concerning the duration of USSR Supreme Soviet sessions. On the one hand it is a question of an important principle—the permanency of supreme power. It is time for deputies to acquire a political identity in addition to a representative identity. But on the other hand—and many people have drawn attention to this—a deputy in our country is special: As a rule he is generally not a professional politician but a workman, not a talker but a working person. The PRAVDA mailbag illustrates that people don't understand why deputies should sit for so long in Moscow—up to 6-8 months per year away from families and labor collectives. A difficult question! The members of the working group did not jump to hasty conclusions. It was decided to draw the special attention of the deputies' commission to this problem and propose various options.

A worker from Izhevsk's N. Repin Automobile Plant proposes electing 100 deputies from the Komsomol—on an equal footing with trade union and cooperative organs—rather than 75 as specified in the draft. That opinion has already been voiced on several occasions. But what are the grounds for it? To be formalistic about it, there are far more members of trade unions and cooperatives than Komsomol members. And there are no restrictions on the election of young deputies from territorial and national-territorial electoral organs. Overall convincing arguments are being sought painstakingly. That is just how things should be in such important crucial work.

The working group has more and more material every week and will also have to study the proposals and comments on holidays. This work may seem laborious, but it can't be avoided when preparing amendments and additions to the Constitution. A similar collective of specialists is working in tandem with this group on the

other draft Law—On Elections of USSR People's Deputies. There are also thousands of proposals, comments, and opinions there. The administration of state affairs also assumes that everyone has an ardent civic desire to exercise their right to free speech and to express their own understanding of society's paths of development.

But what about the proposal concerning the oath mentioned at the beginning of the reportage? The working group was interested in L. Ushakova's opinion but did not reach a unanimous conclusion. Should yet another ritual tradition be introduced? Should anyone's experience be repeated? Is it necessary.... On the other hand this may be a solemn act: An oath would compel a person occupying the post of soviet chairman even in the tiniest settlement or village to devote himself to serving people and to realize the responsibility of his new position. The proposal still needs to be considered and pondered....

Churbanov Trial Resumes 10 November
LD1011093188 Moscow TASS in English 0920 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 10 TASS—TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov writes:

Proceedings at the trial of Yuriy Churbanov, former first deputy minister of the interior of the USSR, and of a number of former leaders of the Interior-Ministry bodies of Uzbekistan have been resumed in the Supreme Court of the USSR after a three-week interval caused by the illness of Andrey Makarov, defence lawyer of Churbanov.

The trial has been going on for the third month. From the very beginning experts did not expect that it would be completed quickly. The criminal case has 100 volumes of records, and the court is to examine more than a thousand episodes of the unlawful activities of the nine defendants and to question more than 250 witnesses some of whom while being involved in this case are in custody as defendants in other cases.

Today the court questioned Abduvakhid Karimov, former first secretary of the Bukhara Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan. Several years ago he had been sentenced to capital punishment for bribes in particularly large amounts. But as an act of clemency, the sentence of execution by firing squad was commuted to 15 years of imprisonment.

Records padding, bribery and mutual protection—this is how Karimov described the state of affairs which prevailed in Uzbekistan in those years and as a result of which the phenomena being examined in the courtroom has become possible.

The trial is being complicated owing to the fact that many witnesses during the court examination deny the testimony which they gave during the preliminary investigation.

Lawyer Recommends Putting Stalinism on Trial
LD1111233588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1917 GMT 11 Nov 88

[From the "View" program; studio interview with Valeriy Mikhaylovich Savitskiy, departmental head at the Institute of the State and Law, by unidentified presenter—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Presenter] The theme of Stalinism is back on our screen again. Right up until now we have very often told you stories about the dramatic fates of ordinary people who were victims during this period, ordinary unimportant people. Now, voices can now be heard ever more frequently about the fact that it is at last necessary to hold some sort of a trial, or even a regular trial, of Stalin and Stalinism. Valeriy Mikhaylovich, are there any personal motives for this? What is generally your own attitude to this idea—a trial of Stalin?

[Savitskiy] As to personal motives...generally I support this idea. I have no personal motives, because in my family, thank God, there were no victims. [passage omitted] It is not however, a matter of personal motives, I repeat. It is a matter of Stalin having caused grief to the people as a whole, the people as a whole. I think that he must be brought to trial, but not a legal one. For we have laws which we must not violate even for the sake of Stalin. We must not follow the path that we followed before, under him, violating our laws. Our law does not allow a criminal case to be instituted against a dead man. It is a matter of human values. Only for the purpose of rehabilitating him, a dead man, may a criminal trial be instituted. As to Stalin, of course [word indistinct]....

[Presenter] It is impossible to reverse things.

[Savitskiy] Yes, it is impossible to reverse things. It is not necessary to change the law for his sake. As to having a public trial, I think this would be a very useful measure. Of course, it is definitely necessary for the public judges to be very well known people in the country, those on the side of restructuring, people with a great deal of civic spirit. Naturally, there have got to be public prosecutors. Public defenders will also probably turn up. We know that some people do not like what is being said about Stalin. This public trial should have the right to question witnesses, victims, and experts. It must have the right, it seems to me, to have access to archive material. It must not last very long. Otherwise, hearings which will only traumatize the people could be endless.

[Presenter] When do you think it could start?

[Savitskiy] Well, it is necessary to carry out some preparation work. I think that, perhaps, in 2 to 3 months it would be possible to start this work. And I think that a public verdict which would brand Stalin—I would say—

as the most malevolent enemy of the Soviet state should be passed at the end of it. For no code of law, of course, can account for what he has done and what we know now. This is my view.

Moscow Radio Compares Trotskiy to Stalin

LD1311121888 [Editorial Report] Moscow World Service in English at 0710 GMT on 13 November carries a 13-minute "Mailbag" program presented by Aleksey Stroganov and Marina Dymova. After answering a number of listeners' questions on inflation, the ideology of education, the Soviet railroad network, Radio Moscow working hours, housing construction, and family planning, Dymova says:

"Now a letter in a completely different vein: Mr Roger (Gebber) of [name indistinct], New South Wales, Australia, wants to know how Trotskiy is regarded in the Soviet Union today.

"We acknowledge Trotskiy's role in the Russian revolution and the Civil War. He took part in the foundation of the new socialist state and he became the first Soviet foreign minister and the organizer of the Red Army. However, Leon Trotskiy had his own ideas about the development of the revolution and socialism. On questions of foreign policy he advocated the export of revolution abroad. In domestic policies he wanted to turn trade unions into a government agency, and he opposed the manifesto proclaiming a 7-hour working day. Generally, he believed in advancing revolution by command methods. In this respect he differed little from Stalin, whom he opposed in the struggle for personal power. Most historians agree that the distortions of socialism that occurred under Stalin would have probably also occurred under Trotskiy, but they would have been more sophisticated."

Daily Comments on Andreyeva Interview

PM1111155188 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Nov 88 p 3

[Yu. Sorokin commentary: "I, Too, Cannot Waive My Principles.... Apropos Nina Andreyeva's Interview With Yugoslavia's VJESNIK"—please see interview published in the 7 November Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, p 72, and Belgrade TANJUG report published in the 1 November Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, p 58]

[Text] I am not a Zionist and I am fully aware that there are no dispossessed kulaks or people who have suffered repression in my family. What does that mean? That I fully approve and support Nina Andreyeva's well known article "I Cannot Waive My Principles," published 13 March in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA....

This at any rate is what Nina Andreyeva herself believes. In an interview with Yugoslavia's VJESNIK published recently, she claims that the people who reject her positions "are mainly the relatives of dispossessed kulaks and deportees, and that's why they still consider themselves offended." "The others who reacted aggressively to my article in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA are bellicose nationalists, primarily Zionists and people who reject socialism in the past, present, and future."

Clear? Anyone who is not with Nina Andreyeva is against socialism.

Clearly, anyone who is in favor of socialism must also share the other views and assessments that she voiced in this interview.

For instance, on glasnost:

"...Glasnost long ago fulfilled and even overfulfilled its tasks."

On the 19th party conference:

"...The theses for the 19th party conference found no room for reflecting the country's communist future. Our party—the CPSU—is certainly not the party of the restructuring of the USSR. It cannot follow the concept of Bernstein and his revisionist disciples that is manifested in the formula 'the goal is nothing, the movement is everything....'"

On scandalous events in social sciences:

"...There are more and more cases of Lenin's theoretical legacy being distorted and gloomy shadows are being cast on the main gains of socialism...."

On cooperatives that benefit only millionaires:

"In the course of restructuring Soviet millionaires are strengthening their positions in society, legalizing the bourgeois way of life, stimulating the deideologization, demoralization, and the destatization of the public consciousness and culture...and are beginning to engage in cooperative activity...."

On Stalin, a man modest to the point of ascetism and not lacking the instincts of a Maecenas:

"Many people don't know that the royalties from reports, articles, and anthologies published by Stalin, Kalinin, Kirov, Bukharin, Molotov, and other leaders went into the party coffers. The Stalin prize was paid from Stalin's royalties...."

Alas, Nina Andreyeva does not go into details as to when and why Nikolay Ivanovich Bukharin's royalties stopped entering the party coffers. And why some writers went to the Kremlin for Stalin Prizes and others were for transportation to the Far East. However, Nina Andreyeva is convinced that such details are inappropriate in the

press: For it is "criticism of the Soviet past," together with the "cult of enrichment" and "petty bourgeois pacifism," that is today "corrupting young people more than anything."

A person who is really not inclined to waive his or her own principles one iota probably deserves respect. Which, unfortunately, cannot be said about the principles themselves. However, whom do these principles impress or, to be more correct, whose hearts and minds are they aimed at? Nina Andreyeva indicates a quite precise target: Soviet young people, who "are disoriented by the policy and practice of restructuring," but whom she, Nina Andreyeva, is consequently orienting in the right direction....

So the gamble is on young people. Incidentally, not for the first time. I remember Myuller saying to Shtirlits: "People now aged 10 don't need us, us or our ideas; they won't forgive us for the famine and the bombings. But people who don't yet understand anything will tell legends about us, and a legend has to be fed, storytellers must be created to present our words in a different way that will be easily understood by people in 20 years."

Well, people now aged 17-20 indeed see 1937 not as blood and horror but as remote and hazy history. But they see the shelves in stores, they buy jeans from dealers, they read newspapers, and they ask themselves: Where are the ideals, where is Soviet power, where—to put it bluntly—is elementary order? Who is to blame for all this? They investigate. They find answers. But probably not everyone does this and not straightaway.... There is incidentally an extremely good story about Iosif Vissarionovich and his barracks communism. Yes, a barracks, but swept clean! By an iron hand but a fair one! Isn't that the origin of the badges bearing the image of the Father of the Peoples on young lads' jackets? It's not far from them to informal groups like the "Young Stalinists," who only need to have the "guilty people" suggested to them.... Cooperative workers, "Zionists," or "representatives of bourgeois liberalism," who, as Nina Andreyeva points out, "have recently intensified their activity on the social scene...."

"I regret nothing," Nina Andreyeva says, "in connection with the publication of my letter to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA." She cites figures: 3,000 readers have sent her letters and 90 percent of them support her positions. In 6 months 500 people have visited her from various cities "to exchange opinions." The fact is that Nina Andreyeva is by no means the only or, evidently, the main ideologist for a considerable social stratum.

Should we be afraid of this? Obviously not. In the struggle of ideas fear constitutes defeat. That is why it grieves me, to tell the truth, that this interview appeared abroad rather than in our country. From Gertsen to Fedor Raskolnikov, our democratic tradition has created an aura of martyrdom and truth around those who could not openly expound their views and preach freedom in their own homeland.

Should we ourselves create this aura around the name of Nina Andreyeva?

Ten Thousand Georgians Protest 'Russification'

AU1311200088 Paris AFP in English 1941 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, Nov 13 (AFP)—Nearly 10,000 people gathered Sunday at the racetrack in Tbilisi, the Soviet Georgian capital, to protest the "Russification" of their republic, witnesses said Sunday.

They said the meeting took place Saturday at the same race track where 30,000 people had gathered the previous Saturday. Both meetings were organized by different factions of the Ilia Chavchavadze Association.

Saturday's meeting, staged by the more radical of the two factions, included prayers and denunciations of new Soviet decrees on public order.

Azerbaijan Central Committee Celebrates GOSR

NC1011081488 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 6 Nov 88

[Text] Great October, socialism, and party—these terms have a strong place in the minds of our people. In fact, they have formed a common concept. [words indistinct] and whatever makes the Soviet people proud, have been developing and progressing on the basis of socialism.

The continuing validity of the traditions was the main theme of the meeting which the members and candidate members of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau held with the party, war, and work veterans on the occasion of the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Many of the gray-haired veterans joined the party ranks more than 50 years ago and defended the gains of the October Revolution, contributed toward the strengthening of the economy during the initial 5-year plan periods, fought at the battlefronts [words indistinct], and reconstructed the [word indistinct] and factories which were destroyed during the war.

The meeting took place at the Baku branch of the Vladimir Lenin Central Museum. A serious and open discussion was held on the situation in the republic and on the question of using the experience gained in socialist construction in the struggle for reconstruction, that is, to modernize our society in a revolutionary way and more effectively.

Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, warmly congratulated the veterans on the occasion of the anniversary of the October Revolution, explained the work carried out by the republic's party organization to realize the decisions adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference, and outlined the ways and means of resolving the existing problems in the economic, social, and moral fields.

Vezirov said: Prior to meeting you here, we visited the new establishments in Baku, met workers, and held talks with individuals in the squares of the capital. The residents of Baku wholeheartedly supported the democratic procedures and considered the effort made to be worthy of the magnificent principles of social justice. They expressed preparedness to actively participate in all the reforms.

Vezirov placed particular emphasis on the importance of the international training of the workers and on matters concerning the question of respect for the national traditions, customs, and languages of the people. He asserted: We must identify ourselves with the most valuable and auspicious qualities of the people. The concern for the sound national traditions and for the people's history and culture must not be equated with the concept of nationalism, which has never been the characteristic of the people of Azerbaijan, who have been known for their internationalist qualities.

Party, war, and work veterans Mamedov, Guseynov, Dzhabrailov, Ibragimov, Bayramov, and [name indistinct] addressed the meeting as well. They expressed gratitude for the congratulations and assured the Azxerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau that each of them will spare no effort in the future to contribute toward the deepening of reconstruction in the republic, to maintain the principles of social justice, and to consolidate the moral situation.

Writers Union Chief Examines Current Debate

WA18000038 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian 6 Sep 88 pp 1-2

[Article by Yanis Peters: "I Believe in Wholesome Forces...."]

[Text] Polemical Reflections Evoked by a Reading of the Press and Participation in Latvia's Political Life

The further restructuring develops, and the more irreversible it becomes, the clearer it is that this is a lengthy, dialectically continuous, and dramatic process. Our social restructuring is greatly complicated by the fact that we do not have at our disposition, nor could we have a blueprint which just needs to be literally reproduced and carried over from paper to life. Still worse—we do not even have fundamental scientific research concerning the social system which we are restructuring. There is simply no time to do the research, that effort has to be made alongside restructuring. Every second we run the risk of coming up against unexpected discoveries—it turns out that in the edifice of socialism which we are restructuring the ignoramuses or outright criminals in past years were able to completely wall up or at least cover with bars the bright and broad windows hacked through in the first years of the revolution; sometimes we find doors which are not needed at all by the broad masses of people, indeed on the contrary—they are opened and closed only for the satiated bureaucracy to reveal some things and to conceal others, so that it has a way to go in in the morning and a way to come out at night. These doors have to be walled up. We are also discovering suites of rooms unknown to anyone up to now in which complete emptiness and all-embracing darkness prevail. We have been chipping off utterly decayed pieces of plaster in one of the rooms of socialism, and under it, in bright sunlight, a mural is exposed, a fresco, an ornamental pattern from folk art, traditional combinations of colors out of history—"bourgeois," but a masterpiece nonetheless. All of this smeared over in "proletarian" haste and under the supervision of the leading figure by more than one house manager declaring himself to be a Communist.

Most dangerous of all in our edifice are the underground passageways because there are mines rusting away in the rooms underground. They may explode with the first burst of wind, from being so old, taking the lives of many with them.

That is why hotheads cannot be allowed underground; professional miners must work there, people who use the most up-to-date electronic equipment for mine removal in the 20th century, that is—intelligence.

Continuing the analogy to restructuring a house from a nonexistent blueprint and with incomplete knowledge about the structure of the system being restructured, I want to caution everyone about what is most dangerous—hysteria. We simply have no right to it; after all, hysteria, hysterical behavior, could set off an explosion. And although every day we penetrate deeper and deeper into the unknown and into what never has really existed—that is, into socialism, there is still one great advantage which we have, and that is the bitter lesson of history. In my opinion, it is that lesson that is the basis of the activity of Mikhail Gorbachev and Aleksandr Yakovlev, Vitaliy Korotich and Andrey Sakharov, Lyudmila Azarova and Dzhemma Skulme, Yan Stradyn and Edvin Inken, Yan Lutsan and Marina Kostenetskaya, Adolf Shapiro and Aleksandr Nikonov.

Even-tempered, calm people who know their job, people who rely both on the class aspect and also on the general human aspect, people who know how to build from the chaos left by bitter history a social edifice in which the nationalities will feel themselves to be endowed with

equal rights and equal status, neither subjugated nor embittered. This will have to happen if we want to revive that socialism the revolution announced and Stalin killed.

Today—almost 3 months after the plenum of the Board of the Latvian Writers Union in which leaders of other creative unions and experts took part—I want to share some reflections. They have come to me as a consequence of active political life—following meetings with thousands of people which I have had as a delegate to the 19th party conference, and after my meetings with people in my capacity as a poet and journalist. A great number of ideas have been evoked by the heaps of letters I receive every day, and the press, in which widely differing opinions appear, also forces one to reflect. And, of course, there are things in those opinions other than sound judgment which I feel. Extremist hysteria is especially felt in certain rayon, city, and large-circulation newspapers, and it is not uncommon even in republic publications. And a correspondent of the newspaper of the Baltic Military District ZA RODINU has even gone so far as to put in a general's mouth words which this highly placed political figure never uttered at all.

All of this puts us on the alert and forces us to think—Is not the administrative bureaucracy trying to take advantage of democracy in order to play the most dangerous round—ethnic relations? We will, they say, begin to set people at odds, divide them and split them—then it will be we who rule.

Before I move on to specific examples, I will allow myself to recall 28 March 1988. That day, during ceremonies commemorating the 120th anniversary of the birth of Maxim Gorky, I and my colleagues, well-known Soviet writers, had the great honor of conversing with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on a free and informal basis. The conversation took place in the wings of the Moscow Art Theater, in the intermission between the ceremonies and the performance. During that conversation I felt for the first time the bitterness and anxiety which Andreyev's article in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA evoked in the leader of our restructuring. I was sorry that evening that since I am not a reader of that newspaper I could not evaluate Andreyev's article. The PRAVDA editorial on 4 April made Andreyev not only grievously well-known, but even popular.... So it was not without purpose that evening that Mikhail Sergeyevich cautioned us that in the historical stage we are now living through the most widely differing elements—from "monarchists" to "anarchists"—will be crawling to the front of the stage.

It is true. Points of view which are diametrically opposite in their hysterical left-wing or right-wing trappings, are being bound together by the nature of restructuring, confusing people who cannot get their bearings in a policy declaring professional freedom and who are attracted more in "political music" by the thundering roar of the drum, music-hall fashion.

Even in our own republic the "Andreyevists" have their fervent followers. And not only in the press, but also in administrative rallies, and even...in official forums. The panic which development of democracy arouses in many seemingly estimable people indicates that they are thinking along these lines: we will rapidly develop the economy, but without superfluous discussions about our history, without particular equality in the use of languages, without stopping the senseless migration, without establishing national unity in the heart, and also even in purely visual symbolism, without the sovereignty of the republic, without the works of Solzhenitsyn and the views of Sakharov, and so on. Esteemed comrades, do not forget one thing—without all those things I have just enumerated, without those things which indeed create freedom, our brain will not become free. A brain that is fettered with respect to human rights is not in a state to invent a computer, to do a good job of plowing the soil, to build an airplane. To create all the values I have named in such abundance that in a civilized society they become realistically accessible to everyone. A brain which is held in slavery with respect to human rights compromises socialism, and in certain areas—especially those related to scientific-technical progress—it leads socialism into an obscurantist backwardness by comparison to the capitalist states. Prosperity of the economy, science, and technology is unthinkable without human rights and freedoms, without liberation of literature and art from all censorship.

In my opinion, ideological censorship is necessary against the infuriated slave, free people are disciplined by their own conscience.

What are they thinking about today, these troubadors of "Andreyevism," who have been hysterically warning the political leadership of the republic that democracy is developing successfully in Latvia? In what they say, though it is said through clenched teeth, they acknowledge the idea of creating a state based on law, but in fact they are demanding administrative repressions not only against individual offenders of law and order, but also toward the entire profound political process which is in line with the resolution of the 19th party conference concerning political reform. Indeed, the slogan "The migrants are Latvia's Chernobyl" indicates the extremely low cultural level of these people and verges on cynical racism. But there was also a tang of racism in the article of V. Sander, docent of the Pedagogical Institute imeni V. Latsis, entitled "National or Multinational," published in the Liyepaya newspaper KOMMUNIST on 28 June of this year:

"What is actually taking place now? Taking advantage of democracy and glasnost, hiding behind restructuring, speaking as the truest adherents of restructuring, the nationalists are organizing, they are purposefully engaging in organizational and ideological work. Nationalistically disposed elements spoke pretentiously in the plenum of the Writers Union. The Environmental

Protection Club (which should concern itself with protecting the environment) is organizing a campaign for rehabilitation of the red-white-red flag. Steps are being taken to create a Popular Front after the pattern of Estonia (supposedly to combat bureaucracy), whose flag will assuredly be red-white-red. The nationalists are using the ethnic sentiments of the Lettish people and the rise of ethnic consciousness to rally the Lettish people under the red-white-red flag. The ethnographic festival "Baltic 88" was superbly organized under that flag and the sun symbol. I will be so bold as to recall that the sun symbol was worn on the cockades of the peaked caps of the soldiers in the army of bourgeois Latvia, and that army was organized and trained to fight the Bolsheviks, Soviet Latvia and Soviet Russia. The sun symbol was also on the underground publications of the nationalistic bandits following the Great Patriotic War.

"All of this is giving rise to misunderstanding, well-founded doubts, and confusion in the minds of Russians and other non-Lettish people in the republic who represent half of Latvia's population, as well as among the Lettish who have an international outlook. Resentment is also being aroused by the conciliatory position taken by certain leading ideological officials of the republic and by the constant retreat under pressure from nationalistic elements. What happened to their class approach in which the leading role belongs to the working class (if the newly fledged prophets from among the creative intelligentsia are speaking in the name of the entire people)?

"Under such conditions we need to strengthen still more the friendship between the Lettish and Russian peoples and the unity of Lettish and Russian workers and party members. In the light of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and 19th party conference energetic resistance must be offered to the intrigues of the Lettish nationalistic extremists. The development of events in Nagorno-Karabakh, in Armenian SSR, and in Azerbaijan SSR urgently demands that deception with loud slogans be prevented and that all the shouters be judged by their effort to carry out restructuring."

The ideas expressed here are not only chaotic: for example, the division of the republic's inhabitants into two strange parts, on the one hand—the "Russian and other non-Lettish" who comprise half of the population of Latvia and whose views are supported by "Letts of an international disposition."

I would like to ask who gave V. Sander the right to speak in the name of all the Russians and "non-Letts" in the republic? And what were the calculations of V. Sander, docent and even candidate of philosophical sciences, concerning the proportions between the "internationally" and "noninternationally" disposed Letts in Latvia? V. Sander is not satisfied to unambiguously defend the "order of the period of the cult of personality and stagnation," at the end of the article he also mentions without a tinge of confusion the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th party conference. Knowing full well that the newspaper KOMMUNIST is also published in Russian, the comrade once again takes advantage of the opportunity in Stalinist fashion to dogmatize history, to sow distrust in the plenum of the Board of the Writers Union, to present a distorted idea about the ancient Lettish mythological symbols—that is, he promotes the development of conflict among nationalities and misinforms them. He did not even have the elementary modesty to refrain from besmirching the Lettish sun symbol in the minds of Russophone readers. Is this extremist hysteria? Of course, it is, and quite "official," after all, the titles of the article's author are not to be compared to the title of member of the Environmental Protection Club, whose leaders V. Sander allows to "concern themselves with protecting the environment," but at the same time the docent does not advise the administrative bureaucracy, which includes those who have devastated Latvia, not to speak about politics from the speaker's platform. Does V. Sander's article promote cooperation among peoples living in Latvia and their mutual respect and understanding? Of course not. And if not, that means that it is also hindering restructuring. In that case the only "good thing" is that Sander's little article is primitive, perhaps even intentionally primitive so that it will be taken primitively. It is clear that today a majority of citizens of Latvia—Lettish, Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Jewish, Polish, and Lithuanian—will take in the proper way an article written with such flagrant malice. They will perceive it as an atavism of the Cold War, as an echo of that time, when the leading ideologues considered it their task to keep society in constant suspense, nervousness, in fear of a "coup d'etat," of "enemies of the people," and "bourgeois nationalists...." I would like to ask if that kind of tension from the Stalinist period, which was indispensable to draw attention away from the policy of liquidating socialism, from the causing of hunger, from the annihilation of members of the party, from the murder of the best commanders of the Red Army, from the eradication of the intelligentsia, from the deportation of entire nationalities, did not promote a slump of the economy, degradation of morality, and the sullying of the red banner? Is this really what we need today?

There are people who have been attempting by any means to dramatize the situation; they have been urging law enforcement agencies and the political leadership to exert administrative pressure, forgetting that the 19th party conference advanced the methods of political persuasion to the forefront. For example, the newspaper ORBITA, which is published in the Production Association "Alfa," writes:

"...Why have law enforcement agencies been inactive, when they are financed with the money we earn? Why is the Latvian CP Central Committee silent? Such a position is giving rise to distrust of those agencies on the part of the workers and in the midst of the worker intelligentsia."

Esteemed comrades, can it be that you see nothing better than administrative methods for restructuring our society? Yes, I agree, that whistling in a rally when people are speaking from the platform in Russian, just like the utter lack of interest toward the speech in a plant assembly of a naive man who "decided" to speak in Lettish (exclamations of "Speak Russian!"), indicate the extreme low level of culture of both the Russian and the Lettish parts of society—that is, throughout our entire republic. What are we to do? Will we arrest those who whistle at meetings, those who demonstratively jabber in assemblies, or loudly demand that the speaker use the only language they understand? Will we sentence them to a jail term and naively hope that they will come out of prison reeducated "Soviet patriots" and "internationalists"? And has not the darkness from the prison already grown to such an extent in our state that it is concealing the sun from us in the edifice of socialism? In the period of restructuring must we not also restructure our own attitude toward the condemnation of our own children, to whom we were unable to give the lessons of real internationalism? So fine, we send one young man away to prison for a nationalistic slogan, and another (equally young) for a chauvinistic slogan cut into a streetcar seat, we catch a young person with an anti-Semitic disposition, and they fill our jails. But will we get spiritual satisfaction? And does this "intimidation" improve the divisive ethnic relations which have been shaped over the years and which are the result of the rigid metallic interweaving of Stalinism and Beriyaism as well as Brezhnevism, Churbanovism, and Rashidovism? Would it not be better for all of us to join in blocking the road to such an irresponsible and risky game with relations among the nationalities as is being played by the article in Liyepaya KOMMUNIST which I have criticized? No, I am not appealing to primitive judgment—everyone publishes what he can. But if we react to the shouts of the primitive accelerationists, then we obviously must also react to the comrades of pensionable age who are of an equally extremist disposition and who long ago bureaucratized history and the nationality question and socialism itself. Thus in this respect the "anarchists" are entirely merged with the "monarchists."

Yet another example. In the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA on 6 August 1988 there was an article by the engineer V. Ilyin entitled "The Coloration of Camouflage."

The article of Comrade V. Ilyin was mainly directed against combining the colors red-white-red. I will not go into the whole topic, but will dwell only on certain points. Comrade V. Ilyin was dissatisfied about the rally on 21 July, at which young people behaved badly. His spiritual peace of mind, just like that of V. Sander, was disrupted by the festival "Baltic 88," at which the red-white-red flag was unfurled properly and improperly, and where badges and ribbons in these colors were in evidence. When it comes to taste, there is always something to talk about, and Ilyin is entitled to his opinion. But does this comrade have the right to be so tactlessly ironic about the ethnic sentiments of the Letts? I strongly doubt it. If V. Sander and V. Ilyin knew more about the tragic history of the Lettish people—about the road it has traveled together with the other nationalities of the Soviet Union and Europe, then they would analyze processes taking place throughout the world with more complicated categories, but Marxist of course. Is there nothing more to Marxism than primitivism and the banality of Stalin's "Short Course...."? There is nothing Marxist-Leninist in either barrackroom socialism or the socialism of the Gulag; which is why appeals to society today to go backward denote not only the irresponsibility of the authors of the articles themselves, but also the irresponsibility of their inspirers, who are really playing with fire.

Of course, it is still no guarantee of love for one's homeland if one wears red-white-red. Just as an icon on the wall still did not guarantee the zenith of Russian patriotism. But my conscience and elementary sense of tact do not allow me to speak against manifestations of this kind if a man's soul finds satisfaction in them.

Not so long ago Jan Stradyn said at a meeting with Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the academy, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, and Central Committee secretary, that he had recently seen a tractor at work in a field flying a red-white-red flag. When I heard that, I thought: if the flag helps a tractor driver to work, if it helps him to feel the sacredness of Latvian earth, let it fly eternally over our soil that has been humiliated by wars and petty tyranny, which is regaining its fertility and self-respect! There will be enough bread for everyone—including Comrades Sander and Ilyin.

I am gratified by that wave of patriotism which affected millions of our country's people during the celebration of the millennium of the Christianization of Rus. That 1,000 years includes 10 centuries of Russian culture and government, and in the period of intellectualization can the Marxists allow even one stage to be skipped over in the history of the people, of the country, in the history of all humanity? And on the road toward development of Latvia's statehood we cannot ignore the first elements of our statehood in 1917 and 1918, nor the Latvian state in the period of bourgeois independence, which in their class-antagonistic contradictions achieved recognized success in agriculture, cooperation, culture, and contacts with the Soviet Union and the West. I think that historians and journalists and public opinion need to perceive the idea of the Latvian state in all its dialectical profundity. The time has come to inform the inhabitants of the republic, to get them used to discussions of the entire period of Latvian statehood—from the first months of the October Revolution up until 1988. This period lasting 71 years includes unique material—the first two Soviet governments, the 16-year period of the bourgeois democracy until it was overturned in 1934, the 6 years of the authoritarian regime, the collision between the

socialist orientation and the Stalin-Vyshinskiy deformations of socialism in 1940/41, the 4 years of fascist genocide, the drama of the postwar years, including the blows against the Lettish people and the Communist Party in 1949 and 1959, and also all that is bright and dark and has concerned us all the way up until April 1985. Must not an analysis of that entire period become the basis of our entire ideological life? Assuredly, and this year on 18 November people will want to lay flowers at the foot of the monument to Liberty, out of respect to everything that has spiritual value, everything that has been achieved since that time, with blood and labor, what has been acquired not thanks to transnational [...], but in spite of it! Experience proves that historical discussions guarantee high consciousness of the citizens and pluralism, while at the same time administrative prohibitions, zoning things off, and obstruction result in provincial and narrow-minded intrigues, which the Western press describes with enthusiasm, thanking us for something to write about.

We are internationalists, and Riga has always been home not only to the indigenous population—the Letts, but also to other nationalities. That is why I advocate restoring the crosses barbarously torn from the cupolas of the Orthodox Cathedral, I am in favor of reviving the Andreyev flag—this idea was launched by the Baltic-Slavic Society. But at the same time, I will also fight for a revival of Latvian symbols. I will stand in the way of anyone who dares to besmirch the sun symbol, the symbol of the morning star, and the red-white-red colors, for which people and circumstances sullying the symbols have been guilty. I consider it my duty to protect the cultures of various peoples—my duty as a Lett, as an internationalist, and as a Communist. At one time, back in the so-called "period of the stagnation," I fought for the Great Cemetery of the city of Riga to be restored. But I fought for it not only on behalf of Krishyan Baron, Krishyan Valdemar, and Andrey Pumpur. No, I also did it because those buried here include the opera singer M. Cherkasskaya, and on behalf of the parents of the Soviet sculpture V. Mukhina, and on behalf of the father of Fr. Tsander, and on behalf of the German historian Johann Kristof Broetze. There are Soviet soldiers and Jews killed by the fascists buried here. And my duty as a Lett consists not only of protecting Lettish culture, but also in protecting the interests of all nationalities living in Latvia—the interests of the Russians, the Germans, the Jews, the Belorussians, the Poles, the Lithuanians, the Gypsies, the Livs, if the administrative bureaucracy has attempted to standardize these nationalities. We do not buy internationalism with a slogan and we do not cultivate it behind bars. Rather in discussion. But a high level of discussion is not guaranteed by the whistling of green young men, nor by outcries in official newspapers. Primitive arguments about the "past achievements of the older people" and the "irresponsibility of young people" evoke nothing but laughter. V. Ilyin, whom we have already mentioned, used that line of argument in the pages of SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA.

"At present, our young people have no worries about a piece of real bread, but there is a great desire to remain an indefinitely long time in a state of infancy, since they have us, who of all other generations distinguished ourselves in still helping our parents financially, and then we immediately turned to our children and grandchildren, and in this way somehow seem to have dropped out of the way of life formed over the centuries. In short, we have created a carefree life for our children and grandchildren, they have a great deal of free time to establish the 'pluralism of opinions,' but since their ideas and opinions quickly evaporate with the help of motorcycles and mopeds, there is always room in their heads for those of others, which are cordially supplied by the 'granddads' and 'grandmas' already mentioned. This is evidently one of the reasons why it has become an urgent question of how a decisive campaign is to be waged against nationalism and chauvinism.

"We are fighting at present, in my opinion, 'in the opposite direction.' In reading the newspapers SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH and PADOMYU YAUNATNE, One gets the impression that after all the times of stagnation and the time spent feasting and in hard drinking, we have already overcome everything in the economy, in the social sphere, as well as in the sphere of upbringing, and what remains to us now is only to hold beauty contests, discuss the problems of homosexuals, look for a Klondike in Kaliningrad Oblast, or senselessly exaggerate the question of what flags we want to sail under tomorrow?"

Does it really seem to you, Comrade Ilyin, that young people have been guaranteed a "carefree" life? You refer to as "carefree" that false history which we were teaching young people until just yesterday, a history so false that in the schools they have even abolished the examination concerning it? And how right Aleksandr Yakovlev was when he said in the meeting with the ideological aktiv of the republic on 10 August 1988: "Do many people know, for example, because of our silence that the organizer of the repressions in 1940 was Stalin's emissary in Riga Vyshinskiy—the executioner of Soviet people of all nationalities, who executed the most distinguished Russian and Lettish Communists?" So—a history that is not so "carefree," especially the history of 1940 in Latvia.... Are poisoned Liyelupe, the stinking Baltic Sea, ecologically dangerous Olayne, and the aggressive Ventspils, which is threatening people's life and self-respect, carefree? Are communal apartments "carefree," that hellish mechanism that has sent more than one inhabitant of Riga straight to the mental hospital? Do you know, Comrade Ilyin, that Latvia is the only republic in the Soviet Union and the only one of the world's developed countries where the residential floor space per capita of the indigenous population (per family member) has not reached...the prewar level? Is the evidence about members of the family of Marshal Leonid Brezhnev "carefree," in which there is both a person who speculated in diamonds and a general caught stealing who back in 1986 worked in the system of the USSR Ministry

of Internal Affairs and took part in...the ideological education of police personnel? Is it only a "carefree" life that has forced dozens of Uzbek maidens to douse themselves in gasoline and set fire to themselves when it appeared to them that there is no justice in the world at all? Is the criminal causing of an explosion at the Chernobylskaya AES "carefree," when it practically became a dress rehearsal for World War III? Look at the film of Yuris Podniyeks and you will see "carefree" young people who lost legs in Afghanistan, and you will also see their galvanized graves.

At such a moment can we put up with the political-extremist hysteria of the bureaucracy, which is poisoning one nationality against another? Can we fail to assemble together, as Aleksandr Yakovlev has advised (his trip to Latvia brought fresh air into an atmosphere that had been provincially dramatized by the republic's bureaucrats), to discuss the question of ethnic symbols? Comrade V. Ilyin, whom, one must suppose, was inspired by the article of N. Andreyev, comes to conclusions which drive the nationalities apart. He expresses the thought: were the red-white-red flag to fly just 1 day alongside the fascist flag, even then it would not be worth mentioning. But are we today to renounce the red flag of the working class only because it flew alongside the fascist flag when Molotov visited Berlin and later during Ribbentrop's visit to Moscow? Are we to renounce the "Internationale" just because the worker hymns of all the countries of the world were performed together with "Deutschland, Deutschland uber alles!" during the visit of the USSR representative to fascist Germany and the other way about? What is it you want, Comrade Ilyin, for us to forbid the national colors to be used and to send those who wear them to prison? Do you want us to punish those people whom the red-white-red flag helps to sow and to sing in the same way as the thieves and bribe-takers who committed crime in the shadow of the red flag? Punish them like the figure-padders and "specialists" in extensive economic management with the gold star of the Hero of Socialist Labor on their chest?

The bitter experience of history proves that people actually can be repressed administratively, but what do you order to be done with history? You can slander it, but you cannot arrest it. And in the light of history, which is becoming brighter and brighter, we see that the colors red-white-red are to be seen even in the Liyelvarde zone, some of the Lettish riflemen returned from Soviet Russia to Latvia with the red-white-red flag, and in July 1940, when Soviet power was restored in Latvia, the red-white-red flag was flown alongside the red flag. The destiny of Lettish national colors could not have been different from that of the Lettish people—it is historically concrete, not schematically correct. Only today's "carefree" troubadors see it as schematically correct. Hitler shoved the swastika into the upper corner of a red towel, and that became his banner. Stalin murdered party members and entire nationalities in the name of the red banner. But only a narrow-minded person would on the basis of these two tragic grounds renounce the red banner which has always been an object sacred to the working class movement.

Are we on narrow-minded grounds to commit the ethnographic and traditional flag of the Lettish people to oblivion, will we allow it to be slandered in the eyes of the Letts and other nationalities? I cannot but speak about the composition and historical destiny of the famous anthem of Karlis Baumanis "God Bless Latvia." Yes, it was the anthem of the Latvian state in the time of the bourgeoisie or national-democratic statehood. But what else do our historians, musicologists, writers, and Soviet and party officials have to say to Russians and Letts about this anthem? Do our Russian-language publications say that Karlis Baumanis composed the anthem "God Bless Latvia" in 1873 for the First Lettish Song Festival and that this composition was banned by tsarist censorship—after all, at that time a song about a nonexistent Latvia seemed directed against the state? Yes, the idea of Latvia, Lettish political thinking, art, and journalism emerged far earlier than Latvia itself on the geographic map—at that time, after all, there existed only the Baltic guberniyas as "prisons of nationalities." Do the inhabitants of our republic know that in July and August 1944 this anthem was played six times on the First Program of National Radio? The anthem "God Bless Latvia" (this is confirmed by the archives) was also performed over the radio on 21 July—on the fourth anniversary of proclamation of Soviet power, on 27 June—on the day when the Lettish Guard crossed the border of Latvia—following a salute in honor of this event, and also on 2, 6, 8, and 14 August.[1]

Yes, when the Red Army liberated Latvia from Nazism, the anthem "God Bless Latvia" was necessary both to the soldiers of the Lettish division and to the inhabitants of Latvia—it inspired them with the Lettish spirit. This anthem was also necessary on 15 October 1944, when a Lettish Guard division marched past the monument to Liberty and the division's brass band played the melody. Why then have we begun to be afraid of this anthem as the devil fears incense? Are we to renounce our native language, all our languages, even though the French bourgeoisie speaks French, and the well-off class of Russians and Letts speaks the same language as the proletariat?

Stalinism so primitivized (or even destroyed) our Marxist-Leninist perception of reality that it makes one ashamed before one's children and the "carefree" young people. They do not understand why people fight so vigorously in the name of communist ideals against the opinion of the people, why they fight spiritual values which the people cherish, and everything that reveals in people Soviet patriotism, a love of life, energy, and a desire to believe in socialism.

I would also like to mention that we are all leaving evidence of our time. Read the press in the forties, the fifties, and the sixties, and you will be seized by tragicomic feelings—there will even be revulsion at the

sentimental elegies to Stalin and shouts of "hurrah" for corn and also for its father—"our dear Nikita Sergeyevich," and the hunt for "cosmopolites" and "bourgeois nationalists." All of this confirms how subjugated, debased, and limited were our society and the official press.

Today do we not have a sense of shame for certain historical articles? But in a few months, not to mention the more remote future, many little articles written today in utter seriousness will seem to be the very model of black humor.

Against them there stand the words which Aleksandr Yakovlev uttered quite recently in Riga: "Here is what we should fear like the greatest enemy—that there should be no division down nationality lines, that relations actually develop on the basis of the most profound respect for cultural traditions and language, that everything develop on the basis of mutual respect, real and sincere respect, coming from the very depths of the heart."

I think that these words will cool the heads of all those who are unable to forget the old times and it will take "organizational conclusions" toward the political leaders of the Latvian CP Central Committee, toward the editors of newspapers and television journalists, toward all those who are striving today to avert "division down nationality lines," for the strong not to rise up over the unprotected, for self-awareness not to be confused with nationalism, and for administrative suppression not to be confused with internationalism. All those who experience satisfaction concerning the mutilation of justice, democratization, and real internationalism in the republic need to calm down and to understand that the party's course is irreversible.

Demagogic hysteria is not able to drive apart the wholesome forces of society.

(A small interlude at this point. Why do we not organize a Stagnation Club where people might unburden their hearts? Those who cherish the methods of repression, administrative calls, being cut off from the world, the building up of tension both in Soviet society and also in international relations, the proclamation of superiority of one people over all others, silence about history, the banning of the holidays and traditions of the nationalities, the ignoring of the language, the persecution of those who think otherwise, the degeneration of the economy, and the proclamation of the class interest to be higher than the human interest, could openly go there to meet. It might have impressive desks, they could be proud of slogans and appeals that are divorced from life, it could be green with potted palms, and they could listen to military marches. In the corridors there would be improvised speaking rostrums from which some of the club's members would issue the appeal: "All Hail!" and the others would march past shouting "Hurrah!" Then they would exchange places—those who had been marching would go to the rostrums, and those who had spoken would begin to march. And the whole point would be so that everyone would be able to exercise power in the freedom, brotherhood, equality, and happiness that had been proclaimed.... In the evening they would all meet in the auditorium where pompous musical works would resound in honor of the heroes—those people whose bronze busts rest in the wall niches and who look down on everything taking place from portraits in heavy gold frames with unusual sense of humanity and great understanding. And after the concert a feast and collective visit to the sauna, and from there at midnight the most active servants of the people would set off to go fishing! And early in the morning, after a modest portion of cognac and a gulp of coffee the comrades could begin to make calls whether it be "out from the center" or "on the spot." And to say—Yan Saulvedovich, it is time to begin the planting, it would not be a bad idea to do it at the same time as the harvest, it is time to issue a rebuke and to set off on Saturday for the kolkhoz, and you, Skaydrite Maygonovna, it is time that you understood that production has to be stepped up—why is it that some performers only dance, and others only drink, if you do not straighten it out you will never go abroad, you will not be invited to the reception of Himself for the October holidays, nor will there be coffee in the cafe.... In the vestibule of the Stagnation Club there would be a wall newspaper TSEMENT, which in particular would say: "Nationalism is raising its head," "Why is the Latvian CP Central Committee silent?" "Was it not under similar conditions of criminal indifference in Germany that fascism came to power?" and so on. Under the conditions of democracy the club would be entirely permissible—people need to be given a legal and loyal opportunity to act out the old times, and then they would not need to break into the official press. This would be a humane club with a wall newspaper, whose authors would not have to embellish their conservative writings directed against progress and the concepts of "democracy," "glasnost," "new thinking," and "the human," which are so unpleasant to them. Where are the funds to be found to finance such a club? Well, of course, financing would come from the voluntary donations of the members themselves, not from what has been confiscated from Churbanov, Shchelekov, Rashidov, and Adylov—their money must be returned to the people, shared among the martyrs of Afghanistan or among the parents of the girls who set fire to themselves.)

In concluding my reflections I would like to recall once again that today's restructuring is a revolution of conscience. Every appeal to go back to the old "order" (read—political immorality) signifies an offensive against the development of socialism, against the USSR as a federation of free states. And, relying on the bitter lessons of history, I call for remembrance that the tone of restructuring cannot be set either by the speculatively disposed strata "from below," or by the extremists from among yesterday's official bureaucracy.

Everything will be decided by the wholesome forces of the people and the Communist Party. I call upon people

of all nationalities in Latvia to turn precisely to those forces. And the only ones we will allow to do the work of clearing the mines from our edifice in the process of restructuring will be those capable of doing their job without political hysteria, which could indeed result in an explosion.

Footnote

1. Archives of the October Revolution in Moscow, F. 6903, folder of broadcasts of the First Program of National Radio.

Agricultural

Leaders Evaluate Moscow Produce Supply Network

LD1111235688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1921 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, 11 Nov (TASS)—Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has pointed to the necessity of developing the network of agro-industrial combines engaged in the production, storage, processing, and marketing of fruit and vegetable produce in Moscow and Moscow Oblast. Together with Aleksandr Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, he has spent 2 days investigating the supplies of fruit and vegetable produce and potatoes to the population of Moscow and Moscow Oblast.

At a conference involving party and state workers and experts from diverse industries, consideration was given to questions of increasing the production of vegetables and potatoes and improving their storage, processing, transportation, and the trade in them.

Lev Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow Gorkom, noted that it is necessary to set up a perfected system for administering the supply of fruit and vegetable produce to Moscow and Moscow Oblast. There is as yet no unity of action or commitment here. Losses of produce are great. It is very important to draw up and in the next few years to implement a unified plan for the modernization and technical reequipping of vegetable, fruit, and potato storage depots.

Summing up the results of the discussion, Yegor Ligachev noted that in Moscow and Moscow Oblast, which have a population of 16 million people, a network for the supply of vegetable produce to the population has not been finally worked out from the organizational and economic viewpoints. Disproportions between vegetable and potato production volumes, storage, and processing capacities, and also trade are making themselves felt.

It was noted that the setting up of agro-industrial combines, which combine production and trade, raises the quality of marketed output, broadens its range, and reduces losses.

Ligachev, Vlasov Investigate

PM1411104188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "In Every Link of the Conveyor"]

[Text] Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the the RSFSR Council of Ministers, have been familiarizing themselves over 2 days on the situation regarding the supply of fruit, vegetables, and potatoes to the population of Moscow city and Moscow Oblast. They visited enterprises of the "Ramenskiy" and "Moskva" agro-industrial combines, wholesale and retail fruit and vegetable associations, and storage depots and stores specializing in trade in these products.

Questions concerned with boosting the production of vegetables and potatoes and improving their storage, processing, transportation, and trade were thoroughly examined on the spot. During their visit to agricultural and other enterprises of the "Ramenskiy" agro-industrial combine, main attention was paid to new forms of agro-industrial integration in fruit and vegetable production and potato growing, the mastering of intensive techniques for growing vegetables and potatoes and enhancing their quality, and the improvement of organizational and economic relations among all those involved in the fruit, vegetable, and potato production conveyor.

It was noted that the creation of agro-industrial combines of the "Ramenskiy" and "Moskva" type, which combine production and trade, helps to enhance the quality of the output sold, extend its range, and cut losses.

Meetings were held with workers in retail and wholesale associations and fruit and vegetable stores, and ways of improving the organization of storage and trade and increasing workers' interest in the preservation and quality of output were discussed. Problems connected with the delivery of vegetables and potatoes to Moscow from other regions of the country were examined.

Measures to improve the supply of fruit and vegetable products and potatoes to the population were discussed at a conference of workers from fruit and potato growing kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the greater Moscow area, and from storage depots, processing enterprises, and transport, trade, and construction organizations in the city of Moscow. Speakers at the conference included the following: V.K. Mesyats, first secretary of Moscow

CPSU Obkom; Yu.M. Luzhkov, chairman of the Moscow City Agro-Industrial Committee; Ye.S. Rychin, general director of the "Moskva" agro-industrial combine; N.S. Konarev, USSR minister of railways; P.S. Surov, chairman of the Moscow construction committee; and Ye.K. Kupreyev, chief of the Moscow Gorispolkom Main Administration of Motor Transportation. They and others made a number of specific proposals aimed at improving fruit and vegetable supply.

L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, addressed the conference. He noted that it is essential to create a better fruit and vegetable supply administrative system for Moscow and Moscow Oblast. There is no unity of action or commitment here at present. There are large losses of output. It is very important to draw up and implement in the next few years an integral plan to modernize and retool vegetable, fruit, and potato storage depots.

The discussion was summed up by Ye.K. Ligachev. He stressed that no system for the supply of vegetables to the population has yet been worked out in a well-organized and economical way in Moscow and Moscow Oblast, where more than 16 million people live. There are evident imbalances between the volume of vegetables and potatoes produced and the capacities available for storing and processing them and the trade network. These imbalances prevent progress being made.

The attention of Moscow Oblast agricultural chiefs and workers was drawn to the need to further intensify the production of fruit, vegetables, and potatoes, to extend their range, and to increase the volume of supply to the trade network of greenstuff and fresh vegetables grown under glass. For this the oblast must create a powerful production and personnel potential. Its yield can now be increased by the restructuring of economic relations, economic accountability, contracts, and leasing. In short, the whole range of components have to be brought together if Muscovites are to be supplied with sufficient high-quality vegetables. In determining the action program in this area it has been deemed advisable to consider Moscow and Moscow Oblast as a single unit, the CPSU Central Committee secretary stressed.

Improvement in the supply of fruit and vegetables to the population is being seriously hampered by the backwardness of the storage and trade material and technical base in both the capital and the oblast. Cities in the vicinity of Moscow lack more than half the required stores and storage facilities for vegetables. It is no accident that the inhabitants of the oblast travel to Moscow for vegetables and other products. A considerable proportion of the vegetables delivered to the the city goes bad while at depots and in the stores. Only half the storehouses are equipped with refrigeration or active ventilation, and the situation regarding mechanization facilities is even worse. There is on average one "Ovoshchi-Frukty" store in the capital per 24,000 inhabitants, whereas the figure in Kishinev, for example, is 3,000, in Kiev 8,000, and in Minsk 14,000.

No matter how many vegetables are supplied to a vast city, an underdeveloped trade network and low standards of equipment provision for storage depots are incapable of ensuring that they are sold promptly, without people having to stand in line.

The speech stressed that the city and oblast party organizations and soviet and economic bodies must seriously address the question of the material base for the storage, processing, and sale of vegetables, fruit, and potatoes. Much work has to be carried out with cadres in the system of storage and trade, and the role of primary party organizations and labor collective councils must be enhanced.

Work must be carried out in the fruit and vegetable depots in such a way that all substandard output and so-called waste products go for reprocessing, and are not dumped. We are actually talking about the introduction here of waste-free technology.

Transport workers on rail, river, and road also have crucial tasks to solve. They, together with the Moscow trade and procurement service, must finally organize the reception of fruit and vegetables and potatoes actually at the place of production, and must bear material liability for the preservation of the product accepted and transported in terms of both quantity and quality. The USSR Ministry of Railways and Ministry of the River Fleet, together with the the USSR Gosagroprom and local soviet and economic bodies, must use this winter to increase loading and unloading areas and equip them with requisite refrigeration capacities and mechanization facilities.

Work has to continue to improve the organizational structure of the fruit and vegetable complex administration of Moscow and greater Moscow by making fuller use of existing experience in organizing supply to major cities in other countries. It is essential to develop the network of agro-industrial combines in every way.

While tackling long-term questions, Ye.K. Ligachev observed, we must not lose sight of current concerns. The storage of fruit and vegetables in Moscow depots has been completed for this year. The task now is to ensure that all this output is safely preserved and is delivered to the stores in good condition. All links of the fruit and vegetable production conveyor must be bolder in introducing cooperatives, contracts, and leases, which will undoubtedly yield a good final result. The agro-industrial combines and the Proletarskiy and Krasnogvardeyskiy fruit and vegetable associations are examples of this.

Leading personnel from the USSR and RSFSR Gosagroproms and senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee apparatus, the USSR People's Control Committee, the Moscow party gorkom and obkom, and the gor- and oblispolkoms took part in the examination of questions.

Grains, Grasses Wintering Well So Far

PM1411090788 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 4 Nov 88 p 1

[Agrometeorologist N. Korenkova report: "The Weather and the Crops"]

[Text] In the third 10-day period of October, colder weather than usual predominated in the USSR's European territory. The average temperature in the regions southwest of a line linking Riga, Pskov, Kalinin, Vladimir, and Saratov was 3-5 degrees, and in the regions northeast of it 1-2 degrees lower than the perennial average. The minimum air temperature at the surface of the snow (or soil) in Estonia, in most of the Northwest and Northern regions, in the north of the Volga-Vyatka and in the Urals regions, in most of Kuybyshev, Saratov, Volgograd, and Voroshilovgrad Oblasts, and in the north of Rostov Oblast was between minus 10 and minus 16 degrees.

With the exception of the southern regions, vegetation in winter grain crops ceased 10-20 days later than the perennial average. In most of the territory of the Baltic, Northwest, North and Central regions, in the north of the Volga-Vyatka and Volga regions, and in the northwest of the Urals region winter grain crops and perennial grasses were covered with snow varying from 1 cm to 5 cm deep, with more than 10 cm in a few areas of Leningrad, Arkhangelsk, Tula, and Perm Oblasts. The minimum soil temperature at winter grain crop tillering node depth remained within the limits of minus 1 to minus 3 degrees. Wintering continued successfully. In the southern Ukraine, Moldavia, and the North Caucasus regions vegetation in winter grain crops and perennial grasses continued. Winter grain crops sown before 20 September thickened out. Crops sown later were at the seedling and third leaf phases.

In the farming areas of Siberia milder weather than usual was recorded for most of the 10 days. But a few days were cold, mostly in the second half of the period. In West Siberia winter grain crops and perennial grasses were dormant. In the north of Tyumen and Omsk Oblasts, Altay Kray, and most of the regions of Novosibirsk, Tomsk, and Kemerovo Oblasts they were lightly covered in snow. The minimum soil temperature at tillering node depth stayed mostly within the range of minus 1 to minus 2 degrees. Fall-sown grain crops and perennial grasses were wintering successfully.

Kirovograd Oblast Fulfills Grain Plan

AU1011144188 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 6 Nov 88 p 2

[RATAU report: "Fulfilling the Plan"]

[Text] Kirovograd, 5 November—Kirovograd Oblast farmers have fulfilled the plan for selling grain to the state. They have delivered 1,255,000 tonnes of grain to the country's granaries. The proportion of high-value and strong varieties of wheat sold amounted to 63 percent. The largest contribution was made by the farmers of Novoukrainskiy, Dobrovelichkovskiy, Maloviskovskiy, and Kirovogradskiy Rayons.

The success was achieved owing to the application of economic accountability in labor organization and payments, and to the observation of the requirements of intensive technologies. Thus, independent management based on economic responsibility enabled Kirovogradskiy Rayon farms, which have fully switched over to contracting, to make fuller use of the material and technical base available, to increase the per-hectare yields of grain compared with the 11th 5-year period by 9 quintals, and to bring them up to 32 quintals.

Having provided themselves with seeds and reserve stocks, the oblast farms are continuing the sales of grain to the state. Some kolkhozes and sovkhozes have compensated for the shortfalls that have been incurred since the beginning of the 5-year period.

Scientific

TASS Reports Underground Nuclear Explosion

LD1211063388 Moscow TASS in English 0631 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 12 TASS—The Soviet Union carried out an underground nuclear explosion, with a yield of up to 20 kilotons, at a test range in the area of Semipalatinsk at 6:30 Moscow time today.

The goal of the testing was upgrading military technology.

The radiation situation in the testing area and beyond the test range is normal.

Tests Required Before Shuttle Launch Date Set

LD1011133388 Moscow TASS in English 1321 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 10 TASS—Preliminary tests of the universal Energiya-Buran space rocket system will be finalized at Baykonur cosmodrome tomorrow, after which an exact launch date would be announced, Aleksandr Dunayev, head of the Glavcosmos of the USSR (chief administration for the development and use of space engineering for the economy and research), said at a news conference here today.

A launch of the Buran is known to have been originally planned for October 29 but was postponed after electronic computer detected malfunction in one of the systems and cancelled the count-down.

In answer to journalists' questions Aleksandr Dunayev confirmed that the Soviet Union intended to build several orbital reusable spaceships to Buran type and to operate them for decades. He specially emphasized that the spaceships would be used to bring spacecraft into orbit only in exceptionable cases. This is connected with the fact that the cost of their launch by means of the Energiya-Buran system is tens of times higher than that done by means of conventional booster rockets.

Soviet reusable spaceships will be used, first of all, for the accomplishment of tasks involved in the operation of space technology: Maintenance operations and recovery of worn-out satellites, pointed out the Glavcosmos director. Not more than 2-4 flights are contemplated to be made every year.

"It is too early so far to say when a manned flight of the Buran will be made," Aleksandr Dunayev said. "This depends on the outcome of its tests in unmanned flight conditions."

Energiya-Buran Launch Rescheduled for 15 Nov

LD1211111588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1057 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, 12 Nov (TASS)—As already reported, the test launch of the multipurpose Energiya space transport system together with the Buran orbiter was automatically stopped during preparations at Baykonur Cosmodrome. It has been established that the reason was a delay in the separation of a set of instruments of the azimuthal orientation system from the body of the launch rocket.

The causes of the delay have been overcome, and the multipurpose Energiya space transport system, together with the Buran orbiter, is going through the prelaunch preparation cycle.

The launch has been scheduled for 0600 Moscow time, on 15 November 1988.

Shuttle Designer Reports

LD1411030388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Text] As you know, comrades, the rocket launch of a space system which includes the Buran reusable ship is planned for tomorrow at 0600. Our correspondent Leonid Lazarevich met with (Vyacheslav Mikhaylovich Filin), deputy chief designer:

[Lazarevich] (Vyacheslav Mikhaylovich), tell us, please, what has to be done today?

[(Filin)] The work is fairly intense to prepare all ground systems for the launch and to prepare [word indistinct] onboard systems for the refuelling of articles and for checking [word indistinct] of articles. As a rule, on the first launch day there is a survey of ground equipment and the process begins with the ventilation of tank systems.

[Lazarevich] The launch was postponed on 29 October; what has been done in the meantime, so that the present launch can take place? Also, at that time you said that the launch was delayed by automatic equipment, and prelaunch operations were halted; please comment.

[(Filin)] A state commission was created—a special group—to investigate that failure, and an enormous amount of work was done by that group in analyzing both the work of onboard systems and ground systems, design documentation, and experimental working of the unit which caused the trouble. The reason was unequivocally established that it was indeed connected with the adapter of the sighting charge. As is known, all operations to prepare for the launch take place in automatic mode. This configuration, minus 1 minute to launch, is connected with numerous rapidly acting operations, the control of which is carried out automatically, and in the event of the deviation of any parameter from the permissible norm an automatic halt to preparations takes place. There are in the order of 20 such operations. All of them have been gone over beforehand and reflected in documentation, and I think that this remaining work which has been done to analyze the constructive execution, and additional experimental checks, have been carried out in full, and they no longer are causing doubts.

[Lazarevich] Thank you and good luck. But we will not forget that this flight is an experimental one. Everything requires thorough, careful checking, and we must always be ready for all kinds of surprises.

Details of Soviet-French Space Flight Released

LD1011145188 Moscow TASS in English 1423 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, November 10 TASS—Two Soviet cosmonauts, who together with a French one will be launched into orbit on board the Soyuz TM-7 spaceship on November 26, will stay in orbit until April next year while the French cosmonaut will return to the earth on December 21 with Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov. This was announced at a briefing at the press centre of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs today.

The primary crew consists of mission commander Aleksandr Volkov, flight engineer Sergey Krikalev and research cosmonaut Jean-Loup Chretien. The backup-up team consists of Aleksandr Viktorenko, Aleksandr Serebrov and Michel Tognini.

During the flight the cosmonauts are to perform a series of medical, technological and astro-physicial research as well as to have a space walk which, together with preparatory operations will take six hours. Work will be done to set up a large folding structure.

After Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov and Jean-Loup Chretien return to earth, Aleksandr Volkov and Sergey Krikalev are to have another two space walks to install solar sensors which would markedly improve the characteristics of the orientation of the orbital complex in space.

Together with physician Valeriy Polyakov, who will remain on board the orbital complex, the cosmonauts are to carry out other research as well as received three cargo spaceships with scientific equipment and life-support facilities.

At the concluding stage of the flight, there will be docking with a reequipment module which will at first dock with the transfer compartment and then by means of a manipulator it will redock with the lateral docking assembly of the orbital complex Mir.

The cosmonauts are to 'bring life' to the module: To lay the service lines connecting it with the orbital complex and to reactivate it.

Aleksandr Volkov said that, apart from life-support systems, the module also comprises a compartment of a new configuration for space walks. There will be also facilities for movement in the open space.

Jean-Loup Chretien, who took part in the first Soviet-French space flight in 1982, emphasized a great importance of the forthcoming flight to France.

"The orbital complex Mir is a prototype of space stations of the future. By working on board the complex we shall be able to study the process of spaceships' docking with the orbital station and to try out space walks," he said. "My stay in orbit will help solve some problems connected with the training of crews for future flights aboard French spaceship Hermesh."

The crew's psychological support program which has already become traditional and which includes games, music and two-way television exchanges, will be supplimented in the forthcoming flight by recordings provided by the English Pink Floyd rock group.

Cosmonauts Hold News Conference

LD1011132188 Moscow TASS in English 1254 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 10 TASS—A Soyuz TM-7 spaceship with a Soviet-French space crew is to be launched on November 26. The crew will stay in orbit until December 21, a record-long period in the practice of international space flights. This was announced at a news conference of Soviet and French cosmonauts here today.

Way back 22 years ago France became the first West European country to sign a space cooperation agreement with the USSR. Since then about 50 big projects have been implemented, among them the first Soviet-French week-long space expedition of 1982 on board the Salyut-7 orbital station with the participation of Jean-Loup Chretien.

Ten large series of experiments intended for approximately 160 hours of work are to be performed during the forthcoming flight, for which mission commander Aleksandr Volkov, flight engineer Sergey Krikalev, and the research cosmonaut Jean-Loup Chretien, and the second crew consisting of Aleksandr Viktorenko, Aleksandr Serebrov and Michel Tognini are preparing.

A space walk by Aleksandr Volkov and Jean-Loup Chretien is expected to become the key element of the 26-day space expedition. During the space walk, which is scheduled for the beginning of December, a modular construction of about six-metre long will be tested. The cosmonauts will also leave specimens of materials (various coatings, paints and films) outside the spacecraft. These will undergo six-months-long tests to see what effect upon them would be produced by solar radiation, vacuum, and sharp temperature changes. The crew are also to carry out a series of medical and technological experiments.

Aleksandr Volkov pointed out that a well-coordinated teamwork would be needed to accomplish the planned program to the full because Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov who are also working on board the orbital complex Mir are to return to the earth together with Jean-Coup Chretien. By that time it will be one year of their stay in orbit. Therefore Titov and Manarov are to devote special attention to medical supervision.

Tomorrow they are to exceed last year's record of Yuriy Romanenko who stayed in orbit for 326 days. Anatoliy Grigoryev, director of the Institute of Medico-Biological Problems of the USSR Ministry of Health said that no serious deviations from the medical norm were observed in the health of Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov, not counting the change of weight within the range of 1.5-2 kilograms. Medical specialists forecast good state of their health.

Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev as well as physician Valeriy Polyakov who was a member of the Soviet-Afghan expedition are expected to stay in orbit for more than five months until April next year when they will be replaced by another crew.

Aleksandr Dunayev, head of the Glavcosmos of the USSR (chief administration for the development and use of space engineering for the economy and research), said at the news conference that, according to the existing estimates, the expenses of the Soviet side in connection with the French cosmonaut's flight would amount to about 21 million dollars. Partially (10 per cent, according to Dunayev) they will be compensated by utilization of French instruments which will remain on board the orbital complex MIR and will be used by subsequent crews as well as by payment for the stay of Soviet specialists abroad. The Soviet side did not collect any payment from the French side directly for the flight.

It was also announced at the news conference that the launch of the Soviet-French space crews at Baykonur cosmodrome would be watched by President Francois Mitterrand of France.

Titov, Manarov Break Record for Space Flight

Flight Proceeds Normally

LD1111113088 Moscow TASS in English 1114 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—By a TASS correspondent reporting from Mission control Centre:

The crew of the orbital research complex Mir are finishing another working week in space.

Mir veterans Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov tomorrow will break the record of Yuriy Titov and Musa Manarov tomorrow will break the record of Yuriy Romanenko who remained in space for 326 days 11 hours 38 minutes in 1987.

According to crew physician Valeriy Polyakov, the commander and the flight engineer are feeling well and have retained high capacity for work.

In according with the astrophysical research programme, the crew will carry out two series of experiments today, using the ultraviolet telescope "Glasar." They will survey individual areas in the southern Fish constellation.

The plan for today also includes some maintenance work and eyesight checkups.

According to the crew's reports and telemetry data, the flight is proceeding normally.

Old Record 'Shattered'

LD1211000788 Moscow TASS in English 2316 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 12 TASS—Soviet cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov, who rocketed from earth on December 21, 1987 and continue the flight aboard Mir orbital research station, today shattered the 326-day record for staying in space, which was set by their colleague Yuriy Romanenko last year. They are supposed to return to earth on December 21, 1988 together with a French cosmonaut following the completion of the programme of the Soviet- French flight set for November 26.

This will be the third short-term expedition to be received by Titov and Manarov. In June, Mir complex was visited by the Soviet-Bulgarian crew, and in August-September—the Soviet-Afghan crew. Doctor Valeriy Polyakov, who arrived at the station with the latter space travellers, has been staying aboard Mir station till now. He will be in space till next April together with the two Soviet cosmonauts blasting off with the Soviet-French expedition.

Mir station has been in orbit since February 1986. It carries six docking ports. Cosmonauts from the Soviet-French crew are to attach on more 20-ton module to it. The astrophysical module Kvant, the first of such structures, was linked up to the station in April 1987. The space research module helped record the rare phenomenon—the explosion of the supernova in the Great Magellanic Cloud—and take hundreds of pictures of various parts of the starry sky.

The venture by Titov and Manarov outside the station to replace the detector unit of the x-ray telescope was a enthralling episode of the flight. The first spacewalk on June 30 was unsucccessful—the head of the spanner by which the cosmonauts tried to replace the worn out detector had all of a sudden cut out [as received]. The effort to replace it succeeded during the second spacewalk venture on October 20.

Titov, who is 41 now, was born in the city of Sretensk, the Chita region, Siberia. In April 1983, he flew the Soyuz T-8 spaceship together with Gennadiy Strekalov and Aleksandr Serebrov. Two days from the blast-off the mission was halted because of the equipment failure which made it possible for the spacemen to link up with Salyut-7 station.

Following the aborted mission, Titov and Strekalov began preparations for a new flight. But bad luck dogged them as it were: The rocket booster caught fire a minute and a half before the start. The emergency escape system worked at once: Solid-fuel boosters jettisoned from the spaceship the module with cosmonauts, swung it upward and them sidelong, following which the crew landed smoothly by parachuting out.

Manarov, Titov's co-pilot, is 37. He is Lakh by nationality (one of the indigenous peoples of the Daghestan Autonomous Republic). He was born in Baku, capital of Azerbaijan. Prior to the flight, he worked in the design bureau; he was a rotating head of space missions.